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# POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON,

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON,

BY THE REV. HENRY J. TODD, M.A.F.A.S.

RECTOR OF ALLHALLOWS, LOMBARD-STREET, &c.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,

AND WITH

A VERBAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE OF MILTON'S POETRY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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THE  
POETICAL WORKS

JOHN MILTON.



PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

PARADISE REGAINED.





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## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

## PARADISE REGAINED \*



THAT the *Paradise Regained* has been considerably underrated by the world, seems of late to be an opinion almost generally admitted. But perhaps we shall state the fact more correctly, if we say that it has been *neglected*, rather than *underrated*; that it has been more *unknown*, than *not admired*. This is so much the case, that I apprehend some of the warmest panegyrists of the *Paradise Lost* have never honoured this Poem with a perusal; or only with a casual and most unfair one, under a cloud of prejudices against it.—A critick, whose taste, judgement, and candour are unquestioned, has given it absolutely *no place at all* among the Works of its Author. “If I might venture to place Milton’s Works according to their degrees of poetick excellence,” says Dr. Joseph Warton, “it should be perhaps in the following order, PARADISE LOST, COMUS, SAMSON AGONISTES, LYCIDAS, L’ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO.” (See concluding note to the *Lycidas*, in Warton’s Edition of Milton’s *Juvenile Poems*!) I should hope that PARADISE REGAINED *slipped accidentally out of the list*: indeed what the late Mr. Warton has said of the *Comus*, I do not hesitate to apply to the Poem before us, and to hazard freely my unqualified opinion, that “the Author is here inferior only to his own *Paradise Lost*.”

\* I have ventured to form the remarks of the learned editor of *Paradise Regained*, subjoined in his elegant edition of 1795 to the end of each book, into a *Preliminary Discourse*; as corresponding, in this modification, with the design of Mr. Addison’s critical essay on *Paradise Lost*; which is, to point out strongly the *particular beauties* of the Poem to the reader’s notice; or, in other words, to tell him the delicious fare which he may expect, and to bid him “sit down, and feed, and welcome at the table.” Todd.

If we consider the FIRST BOOK, we shall find much to admire, and little to censure.

The Proposition of the Subject is clear and dignified, and is beautifully wound up in the concluding line, "And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness."

The Invocation of the Holy Spirit is equally devout and poetical. The Baptism of John carries us with the best effect *in medias res*. Satan's Infernal Council is briefly, but finely, assembled; his speech is admirable; and the effect of it is strongly depicted. This is strikingly contrasted by the succeeding beautiful description of the Deity surrounded by his Angels; his Speech to them; and the triumphant Hymn of the Cœlestial Choir.—Indeed the whole opening of this Poem is executed in so masterly a manner, that, making allowance for a certain wish to *compress*, which is palpably visible, very few parts of the *Paradise Lost* can in any respect claim a pre-eminence.—The brief description of our Lord's entering "now the bordering desert wild, and with dark shades and rocks environ'd round;" and again, where "looking round on every side he beholds a pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades," are scenes worthy the pencil of Salvator. Our Lord's Soliloquy is a material part of the Poem, and briefly narrates the early part of his life. In the *Paradise Lost*, where the Divine Persons are speakers, Milton has so chastened his pen, that we meet with few poetical images, and chiefly scriptural sentiments, delivered, as near as may be, in scriptural, and almost always in unornamented, language. But the poet seems to consider this circumstance of the Temptation, (if I may venture so to express myself,) as the last, perfect, completion of the *Initiation* of the Man Jesus in the *mystery* of his own divine nature and office: at least he feels himself entitled to make our Saviour while on earth, and "inshrined in fleshly tabernacle," speak in a certain degree, *ανθρωπινως*, or, *after the manner of men*. Accordingly all the speeches of our blessed Lord, in this Poem, are far more elevated than any language that is put into the mouth of the Divine Speakers in any part of the *Paradise Lost*. The ingrafting Mary's Speech into that of her Son, it must be allowed, is not a happy circumstance. It has an awkward effect, loads the rest of the Speech, and might have been avoided, and better managed. The description of the probable manner of our Lord's passing the forty days in the wilderness is very picturesque; and

the return of the wild beasts to their Paradisiacal mildness is finely touched. The appearance of the Tempter in his assumed character; the deep art of his two first speeches, covered, but not totally concealed, by a semblance of simplicity; his bold avowal and plausible vindication of himself; the subsequent detection of his fallacies, and the pointed reproofs of his impudence and hypocrisy, on the part of our Blessed Lord;—cannot be too much admired. Indeed, the whole conclusion of this Book abounds so much in closeness of reasoning, grandeur of sentiment, elevation of style, and harmony of numbers, that it may well be questioned whether poetry on such a subject, and especially in the form of dialogue, ever produced any thing superiour to it.

The singular beauty of the brief description of night coming on in the desert, closes the Book with such admirable effect, that it leaves us *con la bocca dolce*.

The opening of the SECOND BOOK is not calculated to engage attention, by any particular beauty of the picturesque or descriptive kind; but by recurring to what passed at the river Jordan among Jesus's new disciples and followers upon his absence, and by making Mary express her maternal feelings upon it, the poet has given an extent and variety to his subject. • It might perhaps be wished, that all which he has put into the mouth of the Virgin, respecting the early life of her Son, had been confined solely to this place, instead of a part being incorporated in our Lord's soliloquy in the first Book. There it seems awkwardly introduced, but here I conceive her speech might have been extended with good effect.—Our Lord, (ver. 110.) is, in a brief but appropriate description, again presented to us in the wilderness. • The poet, in the mean time, makes Satan return to his infernal council, to report the bad success of his first attempt, and to demand their counsel, and assistance, in an enterprise of so much difficulty. This he does in a brief and energetick speech. Hence arises a debate; or at least a proposition on the part of Belial, and a rejection of it by Satan; of which I cannot sufficiently express my admiration. • The language of Belial is exquisitely descriptive of the power of beauty, without a single word introduced, or even a thought conveyed, that is unbecoming its place in this divine Poem. • Satan's reply is eminently fine: his imputing to Belial, as the most dissolute of the fallen Angels, the amours attributed by the poets and mythologists to the Heathen Gods, while it is

replete with classick beauty, furnishes an excellent moral to those extravagant fictions: and his description of the little effect which the most powerful enticements can produce on the resolute mind of the virtuous, while it is heightened with many beautiful turns of language, is, in its general tenour, of the most superiour and dignified kind. Indeed all this part of his speech (from ver. 191, to ver. 225.) seems to breathe such a sincere and deep sense of the charms of real goodness, that we almost forget who is the speaker: at least we readily subscribe to what he had said of himself in the first Book;

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“ I have not lost  
 “ To love, at least contemplate and admire,  
 “ What I see excellent in good, or fair,  
 “ Or virtuous.”

• After such sentiments so expressed, it might have been thought difficult for the poet to return to his subject, by making the Arch-Fiend resume his attempts against the Divine Person, the commanding majesty of whose invincible virtue he had just been describing with such seemingly heart-felt admiration. This is managed with much address, by Satan's proposing to adopt such modes of temptation as are apt to prevail most, where the propensities are virtuous, and where the disposition is amiable and generous: and, by the immediate return of the Tempter and his associates to the wilderness, the Poem advances towards the height of its argument.—Our Saviour's passing the night is well described. The coming on of morn is a beautiful counterpart of “ night coming on in the desert,” which so finely closed the preceding Book. Our Lord's waking—his viewing the country—and the description of the “ pleasant grove,” which is to be the scene of the banquet—are all set off with every grace that poetry can give. • The appearance of Satan, varied from his first disguise, as he has now quite another part to act, is perfectly well imagined; and his speech, referring to scripture examples of persons miraculously fed in desert places, is truly artful and in character; as is his second sycophantick address, where, having acknowledged our Lord's right to all created things, he adds,

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“ Behold,  
 “ Nature sham'd, or, better to express,

## PARADISE REGAINED.

" Troubled that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd  
" From all the elements her choicest store,  
" To treat thee, as befits, and as her Lord,  
" With honour."

The banquet (ver. 340.) comprises every thing that Roman luxury, Eastern magnificence, mythological fable, or poetick fancy can supply; and, if compared with similar descriptions in the Italian Poets, will be found much superiour to them. In the concluding part of his invitation the virulence of the Arch-Fiend breaks out, as it were involuntarily, in a sarcastick allusion to the divine prohibition respecting the tree of knowledge; but he immediately resumes his hypocritical servility, which much resembles his language in the *ninth Book* of the *Paradise Lost*, when, in his addresses to Eve, "persuasive rhetorick sleek'd his tongue." The three last lines are quite in this style;

" All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,  
" Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay  
" Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord."

Our Lord's reply is truly sublime;

" I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,  
" Command a table in the wilderness,  
" And call swift flights of Angels ministrant,  
" Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend."

This part of the Book in particular is so highly finished, that I could wish it had concluded, as it might well have done, with the vanishing of the banquet. The present conclusion, from its subject, required another style of poetry. It has little description, no machinery, and no mythological allusions to elevate and adorn it; but it is not without a sublimity of another kind. Satan's speech, in which he assails our Lord with the temptation of riches as the means of acquiring greatness, is in a noble tone of dramatick dialogue; and the reply of our Saviour, where he rejects the offer, contains a series of the finest moral precepts expressed in that plain majestick language, which, in many parts of Didactic Poetry, is the most becoming *vestitus orationis*. Still it must be acknowledged, that all this is much lost and obscured by the radiance and enriched

descriptions of the preceding three hundred lines. These had been particularly relieved, and their beauty had been rendered more eminently conspicuous, from the studied equality and scriptural plainness of the *exordium* of this Book; which has the effect described by Cicero to the *subordinate* and *less shining* parts of any writing, “quò magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur,” *De Orator.* iii. 101. Ed. Proust. —But the conclusion of this Book, though excellent in its kind, unfortunately, from its loco-position, appears to considerable disadvantage. Writers of Didactic Poetry, to secure the continuance of their reader’s attention, must be careful not only to diversify, but as much as possible gradually to elevate, their strain. Accordingly, they generally open their several divisions with their dryer precepts, proceed then to more pleasing illustrations, and are particularly studious to close each Book with some description, or episode, of the most embellished and attractive kind.—

Among the various beauties, which adorn this truly divine Poem, the most distinguishable and captivating feature of excellence is the character of Christ. This is so finely drawn, that we can scarcely forbear applying to it the language of Quintilian, respecting the Olympian Jupiter of the famous sculptor Phidias; “cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videatur, adeò *majestas operis Deum æquavit.*” L. xii. C. 10. •It is observed by Mr. Hayley, that as in the *Paradise Lost* the poet seems to emulate the sublimity of Moses and the Prophets, it appears to have been his wish in the *Paradise Regained* to copy the sweetness and simplicity of the Evangelists.—The great object of this second Poem seems indeed to be the exemplification of true Evangelical Virtue, in the person and sentiments of our Blessed Lord. From the beginning of the THIRD BOOK to ver. 363 of the next, practical Christianity, thus personified, is contrasted with the boasted pretensions of the Heathen world, in its zenith of power, splendour, civilization, and knowledge; the several claims of which are fully stated, with much ornament of language and poetick decoration. After an exordium of flattering commendation addressed to our Lord, the Tempter opens his progressive display of Heathen excellence with an eulogy on Glory (ver. 25.), which is so intrinsically beautiful, that it may be



questioned whether any Roman orator or poet ever so eloquently and concisely defended the ambition of heroism: The judgement of the Author may also be noticed (ver. 31, &c.) in the selection of his heroes, two of whom, Alexander and Scipio, he has before introduced (B. ii. 196, 199,) as examples of continency and self-denial:—In short, the first speech of Satan opens the cause, for which he pleads, with all the art becoming his character.—In our Lord's reply, the *false* glory of worldly fame is stated with energetick briefness, and is opposed by the *true* glory of obedience to the Divine commands. The usual modes of acquiring glory in the Heathen world, and the intolerable vanity and pride with which it was claimed and enjoyed, are next most forcibly depicted; and are finely contrasted with those means of acquiring honour and reputation, which are innocent and beneficial:

“ But, if there be in glory aught of good,  
 “ It may by means far different be obtain'd,  
 “ Without ambition, war, or violence;  
 “ By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,  
 “ By patience, temperance.”

These lines are marked with that peculiar species of beauty, which distinguishes Virgil's description of the amiable heroes of benevolence and peace, whom he places in Elysium, together with his blameless warriors, the virtuous defenders of their country, *Æn.* vi. 660—665.

In the conclusion of the speech an heroical character of another kind is opposed to the warlike heroes of antiquity;—one who, though a Heathen, surpassed them all in true wisdom and true fortitude. Such indeed was the character of Socrates, such his reliance on Divine Providence and his resignation thereto, that he seems to have imbibed his sentiments from a source “ above the famed Castalian spring;” and while his demeanour eminently displays the peaceable, patient, Christian-like virtues, his language often approaches nearer than could be imagined, to that of the holy penmen, “ *Εἰ ταύτη θεῶφιλον,*” says he, “ *ταύτη γινεσθω.*” *Epictet.* ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒ. L. i. C. 29.—The artful sophistry of the Tempter's further defence of glory, and our Lord's majestically plain confutation of his arguments in the clear explanation given of the true ground on which glory and honour are due to the great Creator of all things, and required by him,—are both

admirable.—The rest of the Dialogue is well supported ; and it is wound up, with the best effect, in the concluding speech, where Satan offers a vindictory explanation of his conduct, in which the dignity of the Arch-angel, (for, though “ruined,” the Satan of Milton seldom “appears less than an Arch-angel,”) is happily combined with the insinuating art and “sleeked tongue” of this grand Deceiver. The first nineteen lines are peculiarly illustrative of this double character : The transition that follows to the immediate Temptation then going on, and which paves the way for the ensuing change of scene, is managed with the happiest address.—The poet now quits mere Dialogue for that “union of the narrative and dramatick powers,” which Dr. Johnson, speaking of this Poem, observes “must ever be more pleasing than a dialogue without action.”—The description of the “specular mount,” where our Lord is placed to view at once the whole Parthian empire, at the same time that it is truly poetical, is so accurately given, that we are enabled to ascertain the exact part of Mount Taurus, which the poet had in his mind. The geographical scene, from ver. 268 to 292, is delineated with a precision that brings each place immediately before our eyes, and, as Dr. Newton remarks, far surpasses the prospect of the kingdoms of the world from “the mount of vision,” in the *eleventh Book* of the *Paradise Lost*. The military expedition of the Parthians, from ver. 300 to 336, is a picture in the boldest and most masterly style. It is so perfectly *unique* in its kind, that I know not where in Poetry, ancient or modern, to go for any thing materially resembling it. The *fifteenth Book* of Tasso’s *Jerusalem*, &c. (where the two Christian Knights, who are sent in search of Rinaldo, see a great part of the habitable world, and are shown a numerous camp of their enemies,) does not appear to have furnished a single idea to our Author, either in his geographical, or his military, scene.—The speech of Satan, (ver. 346.) professing the purpose why he showed all this to Jesus, judiciously reverts to the immediate subject of the Temptation ; and, by urging our Lord to avail himself of the Parthian power, that he might gain possession of David’s throne, and free his countrymen from the Roman yoke, it applies to those patriotick feelings which he had expressed in the *First Book* of this Poem, where he declares that one of his earliest sentiments of virtue, *more than human*, was marked with a wish “To rescue Israel from the

Roman yoke." Our Lord's reply is close and pointed, and serves further to unfold the character of our great pattern of every virtue.—The same objection still lies against the conclusion of this Book, as against that of the preceding one;—by coming immediately after a part so highly finished, as the view of the Parthian power in all the splendour of a military expedition, it has not the effect it would otherwise have. It is however a necessary conclusion, and one that materially carries on the business of the Poem. An essential test of its merit is, that, however we might wish it shortened, it would scarcely have been possible to compress the matter it contains.

It has been observed of almost all the great epick poems, that they fall off, and become languid, in the conclusion. The six last books of the *Æneid*, and the twelve last of the *Odyssèy*, have been thought inferior to the preceding parts of those poems. In the *Paradise Lost* the two last books fall short of the majesty and sublimity of the rest: and so, observes Dr. Newton, do the two last books of the *Iliad*. "With the fall of our first parents," says Dr. Blair, "Milton's genius seems to decline:" and though he admits the Angel's showing Adam the fate of his posterity to be happily imagined, "the execution," he adds, is "languid." Addison, in pointing out the particular beauties of the two last books of the *Paradise Lost*, observes that, though *these* were not looked upon as the most shining books of the poem, they ought not to be considered as *unequal parts* of it.—Perhaps the two concluding books of the *Paradise Lost* might be \* defended by other arguments, and justified in a more effectual manner, than has been done by Addison; but it is certainly fortunate when the subject and plan of an epick poem are such, that in the conclusion it may rise in dignity and sublimity, so as to excite to the very last the attention and admiration of the reader.—This last Book of the *Paradise Regained* is one of the finest conclusions of a poem, that can be produced. The Book of Job, which I have supposed to have been our Author's model, materially resembles it in this respect, and is perhaps the only instance that can be put in competition with it.—It has been remarked that there is not a single simile in the *First Iliad*: neither do we meet with one in the *three first Books of the Paradise Regained*. • In the beginning of the FOURTH BOOK the

\* [See Mr. Dunster's defence of them in the concluding note on Par. Lost.]

poet introduces an *Homerick* cluster of similies; which seems to mark an intention of bestowing more poetical decoration on the conclusion of the Poem, than on the preceding parts of it. — They who talk of our Author's genius being in the decline when he wrote his second Poem, and who therefore turn from it, as from a dry profaick composition, are, I will venture to say, no judges of poetry. With a fancy, such as Milton's, it must have been more difficult to forbear poetick decorations, than to furnish them; and a glaring profusion of ornament would, I conceive, have more decidedly betrayed the *poeta senescens*, than a want of it. The first book of the *Paradise Lost* abounds in similies, and is, in other respects, as elevated and sublime as any in the whole poem. But here the poet's plan was totally different. Though it may be said of the *Paradise Regained*, as Longinus has said of the *Odysssey*, that it is the *epilogue* of the preceding poem, still the design and conduct of it is as different, as that of the *Georgicks* from the *Æneid*. The *Paradise Regained* has something of the *didactick* character; it teaches not merely by the general moral, and by the character and conduct of its hero, but has also many positive precepts every where interspersed. It is written for the most part in a style admirably condensed, and with a studied reserve of ornament: it is nevertheless illuminated with beauties of the most captivating kind. Its leading feature throughout is that "excellence of composition," which, as Lord Monboddoo justly observes, so eminently distinguished the writings of the ancients; and in which, of all modern authors, Milton most resembles them.

At the commencement of this Book the argument of the Poem is considerably advanced. Satan appears hopeless of success, but still persisting in his enterprise. The desperate folly, and vain pertinacity, of this conduct, are perfectly well exemplified and illustrated by three apposite similies, each successively rising in beauty above the other. The business of the Temptation being thus resumed, the Tempter takes our Lord to the western side of the mountain, and shows to him Italy; the situation of which the poet marks with singular accuracy, and, having traced the Tiber from its source in the Appennines to Rome, he briefly enumerates the most conspicuous objects that may be supposed at first to strike the eye on a distant view of this celebrated city. Satan now becomes the Speaker, and, in an admirably descriptive

speech, points out more particularly the magnificent publick and private buildings of ancient Rome, descanting on the splendour and power of its state, which he particularly exemplifies in the superb pomp with which their provincial magistrates proceed to their respective governments; and in the numerous ambassadours that arrive from every quarter of the habitable globe, to solicit the protection of Rome and the emperor. These are two pictures of the most highly finished kind: the numerous figures are in motion before us; we absolutely see

- “ Prætors, proconsuls, to their provinces
- “ Hastening, or on return, in robes of state,
- “ Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power,
- “ Legions and cohorts, &c.”

Having observed that such a power as this of Rome must reasonably be preferred to that of the Parthians, which he had displayed in the preceding Book, and that there were no other powers worth our Lord's attention, the Tempter now begins to apply all this to his purpose: by a strongly drawn description of the vicious and detestable character of Tiberius, he shows how easy it would be to expel him, to take possession of his throne, and to free the Roman people from that slavery in which they were then held. This he proffers to accomplish for our Lord, whom he incites to accept the offer not only from a principle of ambition, but as the best means of securing to himself his promised inheritance, the throne of David. Our Lord in reply scarcely notices the arguments which Satan had been urging to him; and only takes occasion, from the description which had been given of the splendour and magnificence of Rome, to arraign the superlatively extravagant luxury of the Romans, (possibly not without a glance at the manners of our Court at that time,) and briefly to sum up those vices and misconducts then rapidly advancing to their height, which soon brought on the decline, and in the end effectuated the fall, of the Roman power.—The next object, which our Author had in view in his proposed display of Heathen excellence, was a scene of a different, but no less intoxicating, kind; Athens, in all its pride of literature and philosophy. But he seems to have been well aware that an immediate transition, from the view of Rome to that of Athens, must have diminished the effect of each,

The intermediate space he has finely occupied. Our Lord, unmoved by the splendid scene displayed to captivate him, and having only been led by it to notice the vices and corruptions of the Heathen world, in the conclusion of his speech marks the vanity of all earthly power, by referring to his own future kingdom, as that which by supernatural means should destroy "all monarchies besides throughout the world."

•The Fiend hereupon urged by the violence of his desperation to an indiscretion, which he had not before showed, endeavours to enhance the value of his offers by declaring that the only terms, on which he would bestow them, were those of our Lord's falling down and worshipping him. To this our Saviour answers in a speech of marked abhorrence blended with contempt. This draws from Satan a reply of as much art, and as finely written, as any in the Poem; in which he endeavours, by an artful justification of himself, to repair the indiscretion of his blasphemous proposal, and to soften the effect of it on our Blessed Lord, so far at least as to be enabled to resume the process of his enterprise. •The transition, ver. 212, to his new ground of temptation is peculiarly happy: having given up all prospect of working upon our Lord by the incitements of ambition, he now compliments him on his predilection for wisdom, and his early display of superiour knowledge; and recommends it to him, for the purpose of accomplishing his professed design of reforming and converting mankind, to cultivate the literature and philosophy for which the most polished part of the Heathen world, and Greece in particular, was so eminent. This leads to his *View of Athens*; which is given, with singular effect, after the preceding dialogue, where the blasphemous rage of the Tempter, and the art with which he endeavours to recover it, serve, by the variety of the subject and the interesting nature of the circumstance, materially to relieve the preceding and ensuing descriptions. The Tempter, resuming his usual plausibility of language, now becomes the Hierophant of the scene, which he describes, as he shows it, with so much accuracy, that we discern every object distinctly before us. The general view of Athens, with its most celebrated buildings and places of learned resort, is beautiful and original; and the description of its musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers, is given with the hand of a master, and with all the fond affection of an enthusiast in Greek literature. •Our Lord's reply is no less ad-

mirable; particularly where he displays the fallacy of the Heathen philosophy, and points out the errors of its most admired sects, with the greatest acuteness of argument, and at the same time in a noble strain of poetry.\* His contrasting the poetry and policy of the Hebrews with those of the Greeks, on the ground of what had been advanced by some learned men in this respect, is highly consistent with the argument of this Poem; and is so far from originating in that fanaticism, with which some of his ablest commentators have chosen to brand our Author, that it serves duly to counterbalance his preceding *eloque* on heathen literature. The next speech of the Tempter, ver. 368, is one of those masterpieces of plain composition, for which Milton is so eminent: the sufferings of our Blessed Lord are therein foretold with an *energetick* brevity, that, on such subjects, has an effect superiour to the most flowery and decorated language. The dialogue here ceases for a short time. The poet, in his own person, now describes, ver. 394, &c. our Lord's being conveyed by Satan back to the wilderness, the storm which the Tempter there raises, the tremendous night which our Lord passes, and the beautiful morning by which it is succeeded:—how exquisitely sublime and beautiful is all this!—Yet this is the Poem, from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage, of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry!—The dialogue which ensues, is worthy of this Book, and carries on the subject in the best manner to its concluding Temptation. The last speech of Satan is particularly deserving our notice. The Fiend, now “swoln with rage” at the repeated failure of his attacks, breaks out into a language of gross insult, professing to doubt whether our Lord, whom he had before frequently addressed as the Son of God, is in any way entitled to that appellation. From this wantonly blasphemous obloquy he still recovers himself, and offers, with his usual art, a qualification of what he had last said, and a justification of his persisting in further attempts on the Divine Person, by whom he had been so constantly foiled. These are the masterly discriminating touches, with which the poet has admirably drawn the character of the Tempter: The general colouring is that of plausible hypocrisy, through which, when elicited by the sudden irritation of defeat, his diabolical malignity frequently flashes out, and displays itself with singular effect.—We now come to

## PARADISE REGAINED.

### *Origin of Paradise Regained.*

THE origin of this Poem is attributed to the suggestion of Ellwood the quaker. Milton had lent this friend, in 1665, his *Paradise Lost*, then completed in manuscript, at Chalfont St. Giles; desiring him to peruse it at his leisure, and give his judgment of it. On returning the Poem, Milton asked him what he thought of it: "which I modestly, but freely told him," says Ellwood in his *Life of himself*; "and, after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?' He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Ellwood afterwards waited on him in London, Milton showed him his *PARADISE REGAINED*; and, "in a pleasant tone," said to him, "*This is owing to you*; for you put it into my head by the question you put me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of."

On this subject the Muses had not been before silent. In our own language, Bale has given us "*A Breve Comedy, or Enterlude, concernynge the Temptacyon of our Lorde and Saver Jesus Christ by Sathan in the Desert, 1538.*" Milton might have noticed this ancient drama; of which an interesting account is given by my friend the Rev. W. Beloe, in the first volume of his valuable *Anecdotes of Literature*, to which the conclusion of the drama is subjoined. My friend had been favoured with the use of this scarce book by a most intelligent and learned possessor of literary curiosities, Francis Douce, Esq. to whose kindness I am indebted for the liberty of making further extracts from it; with which I trust to gratify the curious reader. I select part of the soliloquy of Satan, and of the dialogue between our Lord and him, sign. D. i. b. D. ij. a.

" *Satan tentator.*

- " I hearde a great noyse in Jordane now of late,
- " Vpon one Jesus, soundynge from heauen aboue :
- " Thys is myne owne sonne whych hath withdrawne al hate,
- " And he that doth stande most hyghly in my loue.
- " My wyttes the same sounde doth not a lyttle moue ;



## PARADISE REGAINED.



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- " Vpon one Jesus, foundynge from heauen aboue :
- " Thys is myne owne sonne whych hath withdrawne al hate,
- " And he that doth stande most hyghly in my loue.
- " My wyttes the same sounde doth not a lyttle moue ;

- “ He cometh to redeme the kynde of Man I feare,  
 “ Hygh tyme is it than for me the cooles to steare.  
 “ I wyll not leaue hym *tyll I knowe what he ys,*  
 “ And what he entendeth in thys fame border heare.  
 “ Subtyltie must helpe, els all wyll be amys;  
 “ *A godly pretence outwardly must I beare,*  
 “ *Semyngelygyouse, deuoute, and sad in my geare.*  
 “ If he be come now for the redempcyon of Man,  
 “ As I feare he is, I wyll stoppe hym if I can.

“ *Hic, simulata religione, Christum aggreditur.*

- “ It is a grat ioye, by my holydome, to fe  
 “ So vertuose a lyfe in a yonge man as yow be :  
 “ As here thus to wander in godly contemplacyon,  
 “ And to lyue alone in the defart solytarye.

*Iesus Christus.*

- “ Your pleasure is it to vtter your fantasye.

*Satan tentator.*

- “ A brother am I of thys defart wylderneffe,  
 “ And full glad wolde be to talke with yow of goodnesse,  
 “ If ye wolde accept my sypmple companye.

*Iesus Christus.*

- “ I disdayne nothyng, which is of God trulye.

*Satan tentator.*

- “ Than wyll I be bolde a lyttle with you to walke.”

I have only to observe that Satan here assumes a religious habit, or in other words is a hermit, as he himself relates, sign. D. iij. b.

- “ Scriptures I knowe non ; for I am but an hermyte, I ;  
 “ I maye saye to yow, it is no part of our stody :  
 “ We relygyouse men lyue all in contemplacyon ;  
 “ Scriptures to stodye, is not our occupacyon.”

Such is the garb in which Milton, and other writers also, array him on this occasion, as we shall presently see. But I proceed to Satan's temptation, in which (as in Milton more diffusely the *charms of women* and the *pleasures of the table* are proposed, sign. E. i. b. E. ij. a.

- “ Lo, how saye ye now, is not here a plesfaunt syght ?  
 “ If ye wyll, ye maye haue here all the worldes dellyght.

- “ Here is to-be seene the kyngedome of Arabye,  
 “ With all the regyons of Affryck, Europe, and Asye,  
 “ And their whole delyghtes, their pompe, their magnificence,  
 “ Their ryches, their honour, their welth, their concupyscence.  
 “ Here is golde and fyluer in wonderfull habundaunce,  
 “ Silkes, veluetes, tissues, *with wynes and spyces of plesaunce.*  
 “ *Here are fayre women, of countenance ameable,*  
 “ *With all kyndes of meates to the body dylectable, &c.”*

After the ineffectual attempts of Satan, the angels come and minister to our Saviour, concluding,

- “ Our maner is it most hyghlye to reioyce  
 “ Whan Man hath comfort, whych we now declare in voyce.  
 “ *Hic dulce canticum coram Christo depromunt.”*

In 1611 Giles Fletcher published *Christ's Victorie and Triumph*; an elegant and impressive poem in four parts, of which the second, entitled *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, describes the Temptation. But to this poem the *Paradise Regained* owes little obligation. Perhaps the Italian Muse might afford a hint. In the following sacred poem, consisting of ten books, “*La Humanita del Figliuolo di Dio, in ottaua rima, per Theossio Folengo, Mantoano. Venegia, 1533,*” 4.o, the fourth book treats largely of the Temptation: from which I will cite the descriptive scene, after the Devil has tempted our Lord, and has been rebuked with the reply “*Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, &c.*”

- “ Al suon di tanta, et tal sententia un grido  
 “ Lascia co 'l puzzo Satanofo, et sgombra,  
 “ Mà d' Angeletti biondi un stolo fido  
 “ Ecco à la mensa l' inuitar sott' ombra,  
 “ Quiui la fame sù l' herbofo lido,  
 “ Che sol l' humanità del figlio ingombra,  
 “ Disfrutta fù dapo 'l digiun sofferto,  
 “ Per suo non già, ma ben per nostro merto.”

There had been published also at Venice, in 1518, “*La Vita et Passione di Christo, &c. composta per Antonio Cornozano. In terza rima.*” The subject of the sixth chapter of the first book is the Temptation: to which is prefixed a wooden cut, wherein Satan is represented as an old man with a long beard,

offering bread to our Lord. The Tempter indeed is an *aged man*, like the Tempter of Milton, in Vischer's cuts to the Bible, as noticed by Mr. Thyer; and in Salvator Rosa's fine painting of the Temptation, as noticed by Mr. Dunster. See the Life of Milton in the first volume. The Devil is also represented in a monastick habit by Luca Giordano, in a picture of the Temptation, which made a part of the Duffeldorp collection. But poetry likewise seems to have painted, not seldom, the *gray dissimulation* of the Tempter in similar colours. Giles Fletcher exhibits him disguised as a hermit, approaching our Saviour :

“ At length an aged fire far off he [our Saviour] saw  
 “ Come slowly footing, &c.”

And this description is probably indebted to Spenser's Archimago, whose character and appearance might also be in Milton's remembrance. See *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 29.

“ At length they chaunft to meet upon the way  
 “ An aged sire, in long blacke weeds yclad, &c.”

See also *F. Q.* i. vi. 35. Milton draws the Tempter in the habit of an aged Franciscan in his admirable verses *In Quint. Novembris*. In the *Trag. Hist. of Dr. Faustus*, 1616, the magician thus addresses the Devil :

“ Goe, and returne an *old Franciscan frier* ;  
 “ That holy shape becomes a Deuill best !”

There is a poem, entitled “ *Monachos mentiti Daemones*,” in Wierus *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, Basil, 1583, p. 84. in which the assumed disguise is somewhat similar :

“ Ecce per obscuræ tenebrosæ crepuscula noctis  
 “ Obtulit ignoti se noua forma viri.  
 “ *Atro tectus erat monachum simulante cucullo,*  
 “ *Vtique solent rasò vertice tonsus erat.*”

In Rosa's description of the Temptation, *Christiados* lib. viii. ed. 1638. p. 178, he is also thus painted, by the adaptation of Virgilian phrases :

“ His actis, deserta petit spælæa ferarum :  
 “ Hic inter vastas rupes, atque horrida lustra,  
 “ Vsq̃ue quater denis jejunia longa diebus  
 “ Pertulit, et totidem sine victu noctibus ullo :

- " Hic ad radices scopuli defessus Iesus  
 " Confedit, stygiis expectans sedibus *hostem*.——  
 —— " interea [Satan] *seſe transformat in ora*  
 " *Terribili ſqualore ſenis, cui plurima mento*  
 " *Canities inculta jacet, &c.*  
 " Sordidus ex humero nodo dependet amictus,  
 " Et frontem obſcenam rugis arat."

There is an Italian poem, which I have not ſeen, entitled *Il Digiuo di Chriſto nel Deſerto* by Giovanni Nizzoli, dated in 1611. And I obſerve alſo among the works of P. Antonio Glielmo (who died in 1644), enumerated by Craſſo in his "Elogii d' huomini letterati," *Il Calvario Laureato, Poema*: a kindred ſubject perhaps with that of *Paradiſe Regained*; the mention of which Italian title induces us to acknowledge, with gratitude, the exiſtence of a *Calvary* in our own poetry; of which the plan is the faultleſs plan of a *Paradiſe regained*; the ſpirit is truly Miltonick; and the language, at the ſame time, original. By the obſervation of an eminent Engliſhman we may indeed be led to ſuppoſe that Italy ſuggeſted, in ſome degree, the idea of *Paradiſe Regained*, as well as of \* *Paradiſe Loſt*; for thus the writer ſpeaks, at no great lapſe of time from Milton's death, in deſcribing † Florence:

- " *Hinc quoque Miltoni deductum Nobile Carmen,*  
 " *Atque Paradiſi forma reſumpta ſui.*" TODD.

\* See the reaſons for ſuppoſing Italy to have excited Milton's deſign of writing *Paradiſe Loſt*, in the Inquiry into the Origin of that Poem, in the ſecond volume of this edition.

† From H. Newton's (the Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Tufcany, at the commencement of the laſt century,) *Epiftolæ, Orationes, et Carmina, &c.* 4to. Lucæ, 1710. Carm. p. 13. In Mortem Stephani Waller, &c. Elegia, 1707. See this book noticed in the Liſt of Italian tranſlations of Milton's poetry in the firſt volume of this edition.



**THE**  
**FIRST BOOK**  
**OF**  
**PARADISE REGAINED.**





## THE ARGUMENT. (a)

**The Subject proposed.** *Invocation of the Holy Spirit.*

—The Poem opens with John baptizing at the river Jordan. Jesus coming there is baptized; and is attested, by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and by a voice from Heaven, to be the Son of God. Satan, who is present, upon this immediately flies up into the regions of the air: where, summoning his Infernal Council, he acquaints them with his apprehensions that Jesus is that seed of the Woman, destined to destroy all their power; and points out to them the immediate necessity of bringing the matter to proof, and of attempting, by snares and fraud, to counteract and defeat the person, from whom they have so much to dread. This office he offers himself to undertake; and, his offer being accepted, sets out on his enterprise.—In the mean time God, in the assembly of holy Angels, declares that he has given up his Son to be tempted by Satan; but foretels that the Tempter shall be completely defeated by him:—upon which the Angels sing a hymn of triumph. Jesus is led up by the Spirit into the wilderness, while he is meditating on the commencement of his great office of Saviour of Mankind. Pursuing his meditations he narrates, in a soliloquy, what divine and philanthropick impulses he had felt from his early youth, and how his mother Mary, on perceiving these dispositions in him, had acquainted him with the circumstances of his birth, and informed him that he was no less

(a) No edition of *Paradise Regained* had ever appeared with Arguments to the Books, before that which was published in 1795 by Mr. Dunster; from which they are adopted in this edition. Peck indeed endeavoured to supply the deficiency, in his *Memoirs of Milton*, 1740, p. 70, &c. But the arguments, which he has there given, are too diffuse; and want that conciseness and energy which distinguish Mr. Dunster's. Todd.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*a person than the Son of God ; to which he adds what his own inquiries and reflections had supplied in confirmation of this great truth, and particularly dwells on the recent attestation of it at the river Jordan. Our Lord passes forty days, fasting, in the wilderness ; where the wild beasts become mild and harmless in his presence. Satan now appears under the form of an old peasant ; and enters into discourse with our Lord, wondering what could have brought him alone into so dangerous a place, and at the same time professing to recognize him for the person lately acknowledged by John, at the river Jordan, to be the Son of God. Jesus briefly replies. Satan rejoins with a description of the difficulty of supporting life in the wilderness ; and entreats Jesus, if he be really the Son of God, to manifest his divine power, by changing some of the stones into bread. Jesus reproves him, and at the same time tells him that he knows who he is. Satan instantly avows himself, and offers an artful apology for himself and his conduct. Our blessed Lord severely reprimands him, and refutes every part of his justification. Satan, with much semblance of humility, still endeavours to justify himself ; and, professing his admiration of Jesus and his regard for virtue, requests to be permitted at a future time to hear more of his conversation ; but is answered, that this must be as he shall find permission from above. Satan then disappears, and the Book closes with a short description of night coming on in the desert.*

# PARADISE REGAINED.

## BOOK I.

I, who ere while the happy garden sung  
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing  
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,

Ver. 1. *I, who ere while the happy garden sung  
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing  
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,*] This is plainly  
an allusion to the *Ille ego qui quondam*, &c. attributed to Virgil.  
Thus also Spenser :

“ Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,  
“ As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,  
“ Am now enforc'd, as far unfitter task,  
“ For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds, &c.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 2.\* By one Man's disobedience &c.] “ *For as by ONE  
MAN'S DISOBEDIENCE many were made sinners; so by THE OBE-  
DIENCE OF ONE shall many be made righteous,*” Rom. v. 19.

NEWTON.

\* Ver. 3. *Recover'd Paradise*] It may seem a little odd, that  
Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene  
of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his  
agony, crucifixion, &c. But the reason no doubt was, that  
Paradise, *regained* by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of  
Satan, might be a better contrast to Paradise, *lost* by our first  
parents too easily yielding to the same seducing spirit.\* Besides  
he might, very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive,  
that a subject, so extensive as well as sublime, might be  
too great a burden for his declining constitution, and a task too

By one Man's firm obedience fully tried  
 Through all temptation, and the Tempter foil'd  
 In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd, 6  
 And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

long for the short term of years he could then hope for. Even in his *Paradise Lost* he expresses his fears, lest he had begun too late, and lest *an age too late, or cold climate, or years, should have damped his intended wing*; and surely he had much greater cause to dread the same now, and to be very cautious of launching out too far. THYER.

Ver. 7. *And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.*] There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it to the curse brought upon the *Paradisiacal earth* by the fall of Adam: "*Curst is the ground for thy sake: Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee.*" THYER.

In the fourth book of this poem, (ver. 523) we have,

"And follow'd thee still on to this *waste wild.*"

*Waste*, or *wasteful*, is an epithet which our author had annexed to *wilderness*, at an early period of his life. Thus in his translation of the cxxxvith Psalm, written when he was only fifteen; he has

"His chosen people he did blest

"In the *wasteful wilderness.*"

In that instance, perhaps, he borrowed the whole phrase from his favourite Spenser: *Faer. Qu. i. i. 32.*

"Far hence (quoth he) in *wasteful wilderness*

"His dwelling is"—

But the expression and the application of it, in this place, were evidently taken from a passage in *Isaiah*, li. 3. "The Lord shall comfort Zion, he will comfort all her *waste places*, and he will make her *wilderness like Eden*, and her *desart like the garden of the Lord.*" From whence Pope also, in his *Eloisa to Abelard*;

"You rais'd these hallow'd walls, the desert smil'd,

"And *Paradise was open'd in the wild.*" DUNSTER.

I may add that the precise expression here used by Milton, is from Spenser's translation of Virgil's *Culex*:

Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite  
 Into the desert, his victorious field,  
 Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him  
 thence 10  
 By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,

“ I carried am to a *waste wilder nesse*,

“ *Waste wilder nesse* among Cymmerian shades.”

And it occurs in the romance of *Palmerin of England*, 4to. vol. 1. bl. 1. f. d. chap. 93. “ The places of most renowne in this empire shall be changed to a *waste* and desolate *wilder nesse*.”

TODD.

Ver. 8. *Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite*

*Into the desert, his victorious field, &c.]* \* This invocation is so supremely beautiful, that it is hardly possible to give the preference even to that in the opening of the *Paradise Lost*. This has the merit of more conciseness. \* Diffuseness may be considered as lessening the dignity of invocations on such subjects.

DUNSTER.

. Ibid. ——— *who ledst this glorious eremite*

*Into the desert,——]* It is said, *Mat. iv. 1.* “ *Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.*” And from the Greek original ἐρημὸς the desert, and ἐρημίτης an inhabitant of the desert, is rightly formed the word *eremite*; which was used before by Milton in his *Paradise Lost* B. iii. 474. And by Fairfax, in his translation of Tasso, c. xi. st. iv. And in Italian, as well as in Latin, there is *cremita*, which the French, and we after them, contract into *hermite*, *hermit*.

NEWTON.

*Heremite*, or *eremite*, had been a very common spelling, both in poetry and prose, before Milton's time. TODD.

Ver. 11. ——— inspire,

• *As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute ;]* See the very fine opening of the ninth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, and also his invocation of *Urania*, at the beginning of the seventh Book. And in the introduction to the second book of *The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelacy*, where he

As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute ;  
And bear, through highth or depth of Nature's  
bounds,

promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country, he adds ; " This is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify whom he pleases."—Here then we see, that Milton's invocations of the Divine spirit were not merely *exordia pro formâ*.—Indeed his prose works are not without their invocations. Compare also Tasso, *Il Mondo Creato*, Giorn. prim.

—————" e langue  
" Se non m' ispiri tu, la voce, e 'l suono."

DUNSTER.

• Ver. 12. ————— my prompted song, else mute ;]  
Milton's third wife, who survived him many years, related of him, that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter ; and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness, " he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him ;" and, being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied, " it was God's grace and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly." • *Newton's Life of Milton*. Mr. Richardson also says, that " Milton would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make ; and on a sudden his poetical fancy would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *æstrum*." *Johnson's Life of Milton*.

• *Else mute* might have been suggested by a passage of Horace's most beautiful ode to the Muse, IV. iii.

" O testudinis aureæ

" Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas !

" O mutis quoque piscibus

" Donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum !

Or from Quincilian ; — " ipsam igitur orandi majestatem, quâ nihil dii immortales melius homini dederunt, et quâ remotâ

With prosperous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds  
 Above heroick, though in secret done, 15  
 And unrecorded left through many an age;  
 Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.

Now had the great Proclaimer, with a voice  
 More awful than the sound of trumpet, cried  
 Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand  
 To all baptiz'd: To his great baptism flock'd 21

*muta sunt omnia, et luce præsentis et memoriâ posteritatis carent, toto animo petamus.*" L: xii. 11. DUNSTER.

Ver. 14. *With prosperous wing full summ'd,*] \* We have the like expression in *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 421. "They summ'd their pens;" and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry. A hawk is said to be *full summ'd*, when all his feathers are grown, when he wants nothing of the *sum* of his feathers, "cui nihil de SUMMA pennarum deest," as Skinner says. NEWTON.

Milton had perhaps the following passage of Drayton in mind, *Polyolbion*, Song xi.

"The *Muse* from Cambria comes with pinions summ'd and found." TODD.

Ibid. ————— to tell of deeds

*Above heroick,*] \* Thus Milton conceived the subject of *Paradise Lost* to be of much greater dignity and difficulty than the argument of Homer and Virgil.\* See *Par. L.* ix. 13. See also B. i. 13, i. 24, iii. 3, ix. 27, &c. \*But, as Richardson observes, the poet here confines himself to "Nature's bounds;" not as in the *Par. Lost*, where he soars "above the visible diurnal sphere." Compare what our author says of subjects for epick poetry, in his *Church Government*, *Pr. W.* i. 60. ed. 1698, where a "*Christian hero*" seems to be his choice; when he was a much younger man, about thirty years old. T. WARTON.

Ver. 18. ————— with a voice

*More awful than the sound of trumpet,*] "Lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions." *Isaiah*, lviii. 1. And see *Heb.* xii, 18, 19. DUNSTER.

With awe the regions round, and with them  
came

From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem'd  
To the flood Jordan ; came, as then obscure,  
Unmark'd, unknown ; but him the Baptist soon  
Descried, divinely warn'd, and witness bore 26  
As to his worthier, and would have resign'd  
To him his heavenly office ; nor was long

Ver. 24. *To the flood Jordan ; came, &c.*] This line is corruptly pointed both by Tickell and Fenton, after Tonson :

“ To the flood Jordan came, as then obscure,”

But, as Dr. Newton observes, Milton's own pointing is emphatick, and worthy of repetition ; “ *came with them to the flood Jordan,*” and “ *came, as then obscure.*” TODD.

Ver. 25. ————— *but him the Baptist soon*

*Descried, divinely warn'd,*] John the Baptist had notice given him before, that he might certainly know the Messiah by the Holy Ghost descending and abiding upon him, “ *And I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost,*” John i. 33. But it appears from St. Matthew, that the Baptist knew him, and acknowledged him before he was baptized, and before the Holy Ghost descended upon him, *Mat.* iii. 14. “ *I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me ?*” \*To account for which we must admit with Milton, that another divine revelation was made to him at this very time, signifying that this was the person, of whom he had such notice before. NEWTON.

Ver. 26. ————— *divinely warn'd,*] To comprehend the propriety of this word *divinely*, the reader must have his eye upon the Latin *DIVINITUS*, *from Heaven*, since the word *divinely* in our language scarce ever comes up to this meaning. Milton uses it in much the same sense in *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 500.

“ She heard me thus, and though *divinely* brought.”

TYLER.



His witness unconfirm'd : On him baptiz'd  
 Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a dove 30  
 The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice  
 From Heaven pronounc'd him his beloved Son.  
 That heard the Adversary, who, roving still  
 About the world, at that assembly fam'd  
 Would not be last, and, with the voice divine 35  
 Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted Man, to whom  
 Such high attest was given, a while survey'd  
 With wonder; then, with envy fraught and rage,  
 Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air  
 To counsel summons all his mighty peers, 40  
 Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,  
 A gloomy consistory; and them amidst,

Ver. 33. ————— *who, roving still*

*About the world,]* “And the Lord said unto Satan, whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, *From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down on it.*” Job i. 7. See also 1 Pet. v. 8. DUNSTER.

Ver. 36. ————— *the exalted Man, to whom*

*Such high attest was given, &c.]* The description how Satan is affected by this divine attestation of Jesus, is admirable. His involuntary admiration is consistent with his knowledge of what is good and amiable; (see ver. 379.) his envy and rage are truly Satanick, and becoming his character of the enemy of all good. • DUNSTER.

Ver. 41. *Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,]* Milton, in making Satan's residence to be *in mid air, within thick clouds and dark,* seems to have St. Austin in his eye, who, speaking of the region of clouds, storms, thunder, &c. says—“*ad ista caliginosa, id est, ad hunc aërem, tanquam ad carcerem, damnatus est diabolus, &c.*” *Enarr. in Ps. 148. S. 9. Tom. 5. p. 1677. Edit. Bened. THYER.*

Ver. 42. *A gloomy consistory;]* This is an imitation of Virgil, *Æn. iii. 677; •*

With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake.

“Cernimus astantes nequicquam lumine torvo

“Ætnæos fratres, cœlo capita alta ferentes,

“*Concilium horrendum.*”

By the word *consistory*, I suppose Milton intends to glance at the meeting of the Pope and Cardinals so named, or perhaps at the episcopal tribunal, to all which sorts of courts or assemblies he was an avowed enemy. The phrase *concilium horrendum* Vida makes use of upon a like occasion of assembling the infernal Powers, *Christ.* lib. 1.

“Protinus acciri diros ad regia fratres

“Limina, *concilium horrendum.*”

And Tasso also, in the very same manner; *Gier. Lib. c. iv.* st. 2.

“Che sia commanda il popol suo raccolto

“(Concilio horrendo) entro la regia foglia.” THYER.

•Gloomy consistory is similar to the description of the same infernal council in the *Paradise Lost*, where Milton terms them a *dark divan*;

“Forth rush’d in haste the great consulting peers,

“Rais’d from their *dark divan.*” DUNSTER.

•*Consistory* was the usual word in our elder poetry for an assembly; as in Hawes’s *Pastime of Pleasure*, bl. l. 1554, speaking of Venus’s court and temple, cap. xxix.

“The temple of her royall *consistory*

“Was walled all about with yvorye.”

And in Browne’s *Brit. Past.* 1616, B. i. S. i.

“In Heauen’s *consistory* ’twas decreed.”

However, see *Quodlibets of Religion and State*, 1602, written by W. Watson, a secular priest; who, exposing the designs of the Jesuits in regard to the subjugation of England, says, that “their deepe Jesuiticall court of Parliament began at Styx in Phlegeton,” and that “the second act enacted, or statute made, in that high *infernal* consistorie, was concerning the Church and Abbey lands, &c.” pp. 92, 93. It is not improbable, that Phineas Fletcher might hence have taken the idea with which he

## O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,

opens his animated poem, entitled *Locustæ vel Pictæ Jesuitica*, 4to. Cantab. 1627.

- “ Panditur Inferni limen, patet intima Ditis  
 “ Janua, concilium magnum, Stygiôsq; Quirites  
 “ Accitos, Rex ipse nigra in penetralia cogit.  
 “ Olli conveniunt, volitant umbrosa per auras  
 “ Numina, Tartareôque tumet domus alta Senatu.  
 “ Confidunt, numerôque omnes subfellia iusto  
 “ (*Concilium horrendum*) internunt, causâmque fluendi  
 “ Intenti expectant: folio tum Lucifer alto  
 “ Infurgens, dictis umbras accendit amaris, &c.”

Possibly Milton might now be thinking of this passage. That he had read the poem with attention, is evident. See this point further considered in the first note on Milton's verses *In Quintum Novembris*. TODD.

Ver. 44. *O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,*] So the devil is called in scripture *the prince of the power of the air*, Eph. ii. 2; and evil spirits are termed *the rulers of the darkness of this world*, Eph. vi. 12.

Satan here summons a council, and opens it as he did in the *Paradise Lost*: but here is not that copiousness and variety which is in the other; here are not different speeches and sentiments adapted to the different characters; it is a council without a debate; Satan is the only speaker. And the author, as if conscious of this defect, has artfully endeavoured to obviate the objection, by saying that their danger

————— “ admits no long debate,  
 “ But must with something sudden be oppos'd.”

And afterwards,

————— “ no time was then  
 “ For long indulgence to their fears or grief.”

The true reason is, he found it impossible to exceed or equal the speeches in his former council, and therefore has assigned the best reason he could for not making any in this. NEWTON.

The object of this council, it should be recollected, is not to debate, but merely for Satan to communicate to his compeers

(For much more willingly I mention air, 45  
 This our old conquest, than remember Hell,  
 Our hated habitation,) well ye know  
 How many ages, as the years of men,  
 This universe we have possess'd, and rul'd,  
 In manner at our will, the affairs of earth, 50  
 Since Adam and his facile consort Eve  
 Lost Paradise, deceiv'd by me ; though since  
 With dread attending when that fatal wound  
 Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve

his apprehensions of their approaching danger, and to receive from them a sort of commission to act, in prevention of it, as circumstances might require, and as he should judge best. This gives the poet an opportunity of laying open the motives and general designs of the great antagonist of his hero. A council, with a debate of equal length to that in the second Book of the *Paradise Lost*, would have been totally disproportionate to this *brief epick* ; which, from the nature of its subject, already perhaps abounds too much in speeches. DUNSTER.

They who have been taught to think, by the cant of common criticks, that this poem is unworthy of the great genius of Milton, may read the *two first speeches* in it ; THIS of Satan, with which the poem judiciously opens ; and THAT of God at ver. 130 of this Book. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 45. ————— air,

\* This our old conquest,] Par. Lost, B. x. 188.

————— “ through the air,

“ The realm itself of Satan long usurp'd.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 53. ————— attending] That is, *waiting, expecting* from the French *attendre*. So, in *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 407.

“ Or in their pearly shells at ease attend

“ Moist nutriment——”

See also B. xi. 551. DUNSTER.

Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven 53  
 Delay, for longest time to him is short ;  
 And now, too soon for us, the circling hours  
 This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we  
 Must bide the stroke of that long-threaten'd  
                                 wound,

(At least if so we can, and by the head 60  
 Broken be not intended all our power  
 To be infring'd, our freedom and our being,  
 In this fair empire won of earth and air,)  
 For this ill news I bring, the Woman's Seed,

Ver. 55. ————— *Long the decrees of Heaven*

*Delay, for longest time to him is short ;]* This observation, that "the decrees of Heaven are long delayed," must be understood as being limited to this particular instance ; or to its being *sometimes*, not always so. Why any interval should *ever* occur between the decrees of the Almighty and his execution of them, a reason is immediately subjoined, which forms a peculiarly fine transition to the succeeding sentence. Time is as nothing to the Deity ; long and short having in fact no existence to a Being with whom all duration is present. Time to human beings has its stated measurement, and by this Satan had just before estimated it ;

"How many ages, as the years of men,

"This universe we have possessed."——

Time to guilty beings, human or spiritual, passes so quick, that the hour of punishment, however protracted, always comes too soon ;

"And now, too soon for us the circling hours

"This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we

"Must bide the stroke of that *long-threaten'd* wound."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 64. *For this ill news I bring, &c.]* In the fourth A& of the *Adamo* of Andreini, Lucifer similarly announces the Incarnation to the demons. DUNSTER.

Destin'd to this, is late of Woman born. 65

His birth to our just fear gave no small cause :

But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying

All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve  
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.

Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim 70

His coming, is sent harbinger, who all

Invites, and in the consecrated stream

Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them, so

Purified, to receive him pure, or rather

To do him honour as their king : All come, 75

And he himself among them was baptiz'd ;

Not thence to be more pure, but to receive

The testimony of Heaven, that who he is

Thenceforth the nations may not doubt ; I saw

The Prophet do him reverence ; on him, rising so

Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds

Unfold her crystal doors ; thence on his head

Ver. 74. *Purified, to receive him pure,*] 1 John iii. 3. "And every man that hath this hope in him, *purifieth himself even as he is pure.*" \* NEWTON.

Ver. 81. ————— *Heaven above the clouds*

*Unfold her crystal doors ;*] It is the same idea in the *Ode on the Nativ.* st. 13. "Ring out, ye *crystal spheres.*" And in the Latin *Ode, Præful. Elien.* ver. 63.

"Donec nitentes ad fores

"Ventum est Olympi, et regiam crystallinam, &c."

Compare also *Par. L.* vi. 771.

"He on the wings of Seraphs rode sublime

"On the *crystalline sky.*"

A perfect dove descend, (whate'er it meant,)  
 And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,  
 " 'This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd."  
 His mother then is mortal, but his Sire 86  
 He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven :

Again, B. i. 741.

————— " Thrown by angry Jove  
 " Sheer o'er the *crystal* battlements."

See also B. vi. 756, 860. • Milton's "*crystal battlements*" are in the imagery of romance. The "*crystalline sphere*" is from the Ptolemaick or Gothick system of Astronomy; *Par. L.* iii. 482. And so perhaps Spenser, *Tears of the Muses* :

" For hence we mount aloft into the skie,  
 " And look into the *crystal* firmament." T. WARTON.

Ver. 83. *A perfect dove descend,*] • He had expressed it before, ver. 30. *in likeness of a dove*, agreeably to St. Matthew, "*the Spirit of God descending like a dove*," iii. 16. and to St. Mark, "*the Spirit like a dove descending upon him*," i. 10. But as Luke says, that, *the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape*, iii. 22, the poet supposes with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it.

NEWTON.

Vida, like Milton, describes the Holy Ghost descending as a " perfect dove;" *Christ.* iv. 214.

" Protinus aurifluo Jordanes gurgite fulsit,  
 " Et superum vasto intonuit domus alta fragore :  
 " Insuper et cæli claro delapsa columba est  
 " Vertice per purum, candenti argentea pluma  
 " Terga, sed auratis circum et rutilantibus alis :  
 " Jamque viam late signans super astitit ambos,  
 " Cœlestique aurâ pendens afflavit utrumque.  
 " Vox simul et magni rubrâ genitoris ab æthrâ  
 " Audita est, nati dulcem testantis amorem."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 87. • *He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven :*] *Obtains* is in the sense of *obtineo* in Latin; *to hold, retain, or govern.*

And what will he not do to advance his Son?  
 His first-begot we know, and fore have felt,  
 When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep: 90  
 Who this is we must learn, for Man he seems  
 In all his lineaments, though in his face  
 The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.  
 Ye see our danger on the utmost edge  
 Of hazard, which admits no long debate, 95  
 But must with something sudden be oppos'd,

But *obtains* rather means here *obtains by conquest*: Satan being the speaker, it is a word of much force. It implies *usurpation*. It should be noted that the *He* is, in this place, sneeringly emphatical.\* DUNSTER.

Ver. 89. ————— and fore have felt,

*When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep:]* \*In reference to the sublime description, in the *Paradise Lost*, of the Messiah driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven,. B. vi. 834, &c.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 91. *Who this is we must learn,]* \*Our author favours the opinion of those writers, Ignatius and others among the ancients, and Beza and others among the moderns, who believed that the Devil, though he might know Jesus to be some extraordinary person, yet knew him not to be the Messiah, the Son of God:

NEWTON.

It was requisite for the poet to assume this opinion, as it is a necessary hinge on which part of the poem turns. DUNSTER.

Ver. 94. ————— on the utmost edge

*Of hazard,]* \*Dr. Newton says, this is borrowed from Shakspeare's *All's well that ends well*, A. iii. S. iii.

“ We'll strive to bear it, for your worthy sake,

“ *To the extreme edge of hazard;*”——

\*It is certainly a strong coincidence of expression. But Milton may be supposed to have had in his mind a passage in Homer: from whom Shakspeare might also have borrowed a metaphor



(Not force, but well-couch'd fraud, well-woven  
fnares,)

so perfectly Grecian; by the means of his friend Chapman's version. See *Il.* x. 173.

Νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἔπι ἔγρου ἱστᾶται ἄκμῃς.

Ἡ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιῶις, ἡ βιῶναι.

For the very frequent use of ἔπι ξυρῆ ἀκμῇς, among the Greek writers, see a note of Valckenaer on *Herodotus*, l. vi. c. 11.— And Warton on *Theocritus*, *Idyll.* xxii. 6. Milton has twice used nearly the same expression in his *Paradise Lost*;

————— “on the perilous edge

“Of battle, when it rag'd,”—— *B. i.* 276.

“On the rough edge of battle, ere it join'd,”——

*B. vi.* 108.

where I am not a little surpris'd to find Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin both endeavouring to trace out the phrase, without being at all aware that it was so common an expression among the Greeks, as to be quite proverbial. See Lucian, *Jupit. Tragæd.* tom. ii. p. 605. Ed. Reitz. DUNSTER.

Milton, I observe, uses this proverbial expression literally in English: “We never leave subtilizing and casuisting, till we have straitned and pared that liberal path into a razor's edge to walk on, between a precipice of unnecessary mischief on either side.” *Prose-Works.* vol. i. p. 321. ed. 1698. See also Sir Henry Wotton's *Remains*, 3d. edit. 1672, p. 365. “Methinks I see him walking not like a Funambulus upon a cord, but upon the edge of a razor.” TODD.

Ver. 97. *Not force, but well-couch'd fraud,*] Marino, *Strage de gli Innocenti*, 1633. p. 11. where the devil also is the speaker:

“Se la forza non val, vaglia la froda.” TODD.

Ibid. ————— *well-couch'd fraud,*] So it is said of the Devil, as Mr. Dunster also has observed, that he “was the first

“That practis'd *falsehood* under faintly show,

“Deep malice to conceal, *couch'd* with revenge.”

*Par. Lost,* *B. iv.* 121.

And, in Milton's *Prose-Works*, flattery is called “that deceitful and *close-couch'd* evil.” vol. i. p. 141. ed. 1698. TODD.

Ere in the head of nations he appear,  
 Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.  
 I, when no other durst, sole undertook 100  
 The dismal expedition to find out  
 And ruin Adam; and the exploit perform'd  
 Successfully: a calmer voyage now  
 Will waft me; and the way, found prosperous  
 once,  
 Induces best to hope of like success. 105

He ended, and his words impressiion left  
 Of much amazement to the infernal crew,  
 Distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay  
 At these sad tidings; but no time was then  
 For long indulgence to their fears or grief: 110  
 Unanimous they all commit the care  
 And management of this main enterprise

Ver. 97. ————— *well-woven snares,*] Thus  
 Spenser, *Astrophel*, st. 17.

“ There his *well-woven* toils, and subtle traines  
 “ He laid, &c.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 100. *I, when no other durst, sole undertook*  
*The dismal expedition &c.]* “The fear and unwillingness of the other fallen Angels to undertake this dismal expedition, is particularly described in the *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 420, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 103. ————— *a calmer voyage now*  
*Will waft me;]* “Thus, in *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 1041, where Satan begins to emerge out of chaos, it is said the remainder of the journey became so much easier,

“ That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,  
 “ *Waits on the calmer wave.*” DUNSTER.

To him, their great dictator, whose attempt  
 At first against mankind so well had thriv'd  
 In Adam's overthrow, and led their march 115  
 From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,  
 Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,  
 Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.  
 So to the coast of Jordan he directs  
 His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles, 120

Ver. 113. *To him, their great dictator,*] Milton applies this title very properly to Satan in his present situation; as the authority he is now vested with is quite dictatorial, and the expedition on which he is going of the utmost consequence to the fallen angels. THYER.

Ver. 119. — *to the coast of Jordan,*] \* The wilderness, where our Saviour underwent his forty days temptation, was on the same bank of Jordan where the baptism of John was. St. Luke witnessing it, that Jesus being now baptized, ἐπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, *returned from Jordan.* NEWTON.

Ver. 120. *His easy steps,*] In reference, (as Dr. Newton has observed,) to the calmness or easiness of his present expedition, compared with the danger and difficulty of his former one to ruin mankind. Accordingly Satan in the conclusion of his speech had said,

————— “ a calmer voyage now  
 “ Shall waft me.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— girded with snaky wiles,] \* *Girded with snaky wiles* alludes to the habits of forcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents. NEWTON.

This being *girt about with a girdle of snakes*, puts us in mind, says Warburton, of the instrument of the Fall. • Surely this interpretation is a far-fought and groundless refinement; as is also the remark on ver. 310, of the wild beasts growing mild at our Saviour's appearance as a mark of the returning Paradisiacal state.

JOS. WARTON.

Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,  
 This Man of men, attested Son of God,  
 Temptation and all guile on him to try ;  
 So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd  
 To end his reign on earth, so long enjoy'd : 125  
 But, contrary, unweeting he fulfill'd  
 The purpos'd counsel, pre-ordain'd and fix'd,  
 Of the Most High ; who, in full frequency bright  
 Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

• *Girded* here seems used only in a metaphorical sense ; as in Scripture the Christian, properly armed, is described having his “ *loins girt about with truth*,” (Ephes. vi. 14.) “ *Girded with snaky wiles*” is equivalent to the “ *dolis instructus*” of Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 152. Thus also, in the beginning of the third Book of this poem, Satan is described, •

“ At length collecting all his serpent wiles.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 128. ————— in full frequency] Thus, in the *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 794 ;

“ A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,

“ *Frequent and full.*”

And he has the same expression of *full frequency*, in the second Book of this poem, ver. 130. DUNSTER.

Ver. 129. ————— thus to Gabriel smiling spake.] • This speech is properly addressed to Gabriel, among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks ; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his Virgin Mother. The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy : accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise : and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular. • NEWTON.

Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold,<sup>130</sup>  
 Thou and all Angels conversant on earth  
 With man or men's affairs, how I begin  
 To verify that solemn message, late  
 On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure

Tasso, speaking of Gabriel, who is the Messenger of the Deity to Godfrey, in the opening of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, says

“ E tra Dio questi e l' anime migliori  
 Interprete fedel, nuncio giocondo :  
 “ Giù i decreti del ciel porta, ed al cielo  
 “ Riporta dè mortali i preghi, e l' zelo.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 129. ————— smiling *spake*.] \* *Smiling* is here no casual expletive. It is a word of infinitely fine effect, and is particularly meant to contrast the description of Satan, in the preceding part of the Book, where his “ gloomy confitery” of infernal Peers,\* it is said,

“ *With looks aghast and sad* he thus bespake.”

The *benevolent smile* of the Deity is finely described by Virgil, *Æn.* i. 254.

“ Olli *subridens* hominum fator atque Deorum,  
 “ *Vultu, quo cælum tempestatēsq; serenat.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 130. ————— *by proof*] \* This is an allusion to the old trial by combat. The *duel*, or *trial by combat*, is defined by Fleta, “ *Singularis pugna inter duos ad probandam veritatem litis, et qui vicit probasse intelligitur.*” Thus, ver 11.

————— “ and brought’st him thence

“ By *proof* the undoubted Son of God.”

And before, in the very opening of the poem :

————— “ the Tempter *foi’d*,

“ In all his wiles *defeated* and *repuls’d*.”

And the desert is called “ his victorious *field*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 131. *Thou and all Angels conversant on earth*  
*With man or men's affairs,*] \* This seems to be taken from the verses attributed to Orpheus ;—

“ *Ἀγγελοι, οἱσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται.*” NEWTON.

In Galilee, that she should bear a son, 135  
 Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God ;  
 'Then told'st her, doubting how these things  
 could be

To her a virgin, that on her should come  
 'The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest  
 O'ershadow her. 'This Man, born and now up-  
 grown, 140

To show him worthy of his birth divine  
 And high prediction, henceforth I expose  
 To Satan ; let him tempt, and now assay  
 His utmost subtlety, because he boasts

Ver. 137. *Then told'st her,*] ' Milton sometimes, from a wish to compress, latinises, so as to obscure and confuse his language considerably. The sense, which he intends here, is plainly *Thou told'st her*, &c. ; so that *told'st* is used here as equivalent to the Latin *dixisti*, with its pronominal nominative understood ; but which our language positively requires to be expressed, unless where the verb is connected by a conjunction with some other verb dependent on the same pronoun. He has adopted the same mode of writing in other places ; particularly ver. 221, of this Book,

“ Yet held it more humane, &c.”

where the passage is perfectly confused for want of the pronoun *I*. See also ver. 85 of this Book.

We may in this respect apply to our author what Cicero has said of the ancient orators ; “ *Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri.*” Brutus, 29. Ed. Proust. DUNSTER.

Ver. 144. ————— *because he boasts*

*And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng  
 Of his apostasy :]* • This alludes to what Satan had just before said to his companions, ver. 100 ;

And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng 145  
 Of his apostasy: he might have learnt  
 Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,  
 Whose constant perseverance overcame  
 Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.  
 He now shall know I can produce a Man, 150  
 Of female seed, far abler to resist  
 All his sollicitations, and at length  
 All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell;  
 Winning, by conquest, what the first Man lost,  
 By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean 155  
 To exercise him in the wilderness;  
 There he shall first lay down the rudiments

“ I, when no other durst, sole undertook, &c.”

THYER.

Ver. 145. ————— *the throng*  
*Of his apostasy:]* Thus, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 142;  
 ———— “ and thinner left *the throng*  
 “ *Of his adorers.*” ————

*Of his apostasy:* i. e. of his apostates. \* In the twelfth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, there is the same figure of speech, where the Angel describes Abraham passing over the Euphrates, followed by

————— “ a cumbrous train  
 “ Of flocks and herds, and numerous *servitude.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 157. ————— *the rudiments*  
*Of his great warfare,]* Virg. *Æn.* xi. 156.  
 “ *Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, bellique propinqui*  
 “ *Dura rudimenta.*”

And Statius, *Sylv.* v. ii. 3.

“ Quod si *militiæ* jam te, puer inclyte, *primæ*  
 “ *Clara rudimenta*, et castrorum dulce vocaret  
 “ *Auspicium*” ———— DUNSTER.

Of his great warfare, ere I fend him forth  
 To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,  
 By humiliation and strong sufferance: 160  
 His weakness shall o'ercome Satanick strength,  
 And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh,  
 That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,

Ver. 161. *His weakness shall o'ercome Satanick strength,*] Thus in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, c. i. ver. 27. • “ *And God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.*”

• But the proper reference here is more probably to the *second* verse of the *eighth* Psalm. “ *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; and that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.*” This Psalm is considered by commentators as a ψαλμός ἐπινίκιος: Bp. Patrick supposes it to have been composed by David after his victory over Goliath, “ which,” he adds, “ was a lively emblem of Christ’s conquest over our great enemy.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 162. *And all the world,*] “ *I have overcome the world.*” John xvi. 33. DUNSTER.

Ver. 163. *That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,  
 They now, and Men hereafter, may discern,  
 From what consummate virtue I have chose  
 This perfect Man, by merit call’d my Son,  
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.*] • Not a

word is said here of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous representation: and the Angels are first to learn the mystery of the Incarnation from that important conflict, which is the subject of this poem. They are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the *Man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the *God*,

---

“ enshrin’d  
 “ In fleshly tabernacle and human form.”



They now, and Men hereafter, may discern,  
 From what consummate virtue I have chose 165  
 This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,  
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.

So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven  
 Admiring stood a space, then into hymns

The Father, speaking to his Eternal Word, *Par. Lost*, B. iii.  
 308, on his generous undertakings for mankind, saith,

————— “ and hast been found  
 “ By merit, more than birthright, Son of God.”

CALTON.

On a frequent perusal and thorough consideration of this passage, I cannot forbear being of Mr. Calton's opinion, that there is not a word here said of the Son of God, but what a Socinian, or at least an Arian, would allow. The same observation may be made on some other remarkable passages of this poem.

JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 168. *So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven*

*Admiring stood a space,]* • We cannot but notice the great art of the poet, in setting forth the dignity and importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of Devils is summoned; an assembly of Angels is held. Satan is the speaker in the one; the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpose of proving and illustrating his Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay; all Heaven stands awhile in admiration. The fiends are silent through fear and grief; the Angels burst forth into singing with joy and the assured hopes of success. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader.

NEWTON.

Ver. 169. ————— *then into hymns*

*Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,  
 Circling the throne and singing,]* • Milton, we may suppose, had here in his mind the ancient chorus. In his original

Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd, 170  
 Circling the throne and singing, while the hand

plan of the *Paradise Lost*, under a dramatick form, he proposed to introduce a chorus of Angels. The drama seems to have been his favourite species of poetry, and that which particularly caught and occupied his imagination: so at least we may judge from the numerous plans of tragedies which he left behind him. Indeed he has frequent allusions to dramatick compositions in all his works. DUNSTER.

Milton, perhaps, at this time, had in mind Dante's representation of the Angels formed into choirs, and singing praises to the Eternal Father, in his *Paradiso*, c. xxviii. TODD.

Ver. 171. ————— while the hand

Sung with the voice,] We have nearly the same phrase in Tibullus, iii. iv. 41 ;

“ Sed postquam fuerant *digiti cum voce locuti*,

“ Edidit hæc dulci tristia verba modo.”

\* The word *hand* is used again in this poem, B. iv. 254. to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal ;

“ There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power

“ Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit

“ By *voice or hand*.”

Also in the *Arcades*, v. 77 :

“ If my inferiour *hand or voice* could hit

“ Inimitable sounds.” CALTON.

So, in Lucretius, iv. 588.

“ Chordarúmque sonos fieri, dulcésque querelas,

“ Tibia quas fundit *digitis* pulsata *canentum* :”

*Cano* signifies not only *to sing*, but also *to perform on any instrument*. Thus, Ovid, *Ex Pont.* I. i. 39.

“ Ante deum Martem cornu tibicen adunco

“ Cum *canit*.” DUNSTER.

¶ This expression occurs in the beautiful version of the cxxxviii *Psalms*, which I notice in the Account of Lawes.\* See the preliminary illustrations of *Comus* :

Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

Victory and triumph to the Son of God,  
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,

“ Nor may we our hymns prophane ;

“ Or tune either *voice* or *hand*,

“ To delight a savage band.”

So, in Carew's elegant *Mask, Coelum Britannicum*, 1634.

————— “ Harmony, that not resides

“ In strings or notes, but in the *hand* and *voice*.” TODD.

Ver. 174. *Now entering his great duel,*] • If it be not a contradiction, it is at least inaccurate in Milton, to make an Angel say in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 386. “ Dream not of their fight as of a *duel* ;” and afterwards to make the Angels express it here in the metaphor of a *duel*. NEWTON.

• There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of the word *duel*, that makes it unworthy of these speakers, and of this occasion. • The Italian *duello*, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this I suppose Milton had in view. TYLER.

Milton might rather be supposed to look to the Latin ; where *duellum* is equivalent to *bellum*. See Hor. I *Epist.* ii. 6. and *Ode* IV. xiv. 18. But *duel* here is used by our author in its most common acceptance of *single combat* ; and *now entering his great duel* means “ now entering the lists to prove, in personal combat with his avowed antagonist and appellant, the reality of his own divinity.” See note on ver. 130, of this Book. In the opening of this poem we may notice allusions to the *duel* or *trial by combat*. See ver. 5, &c. And ver. 8—11. • Indeed the *Paradise Regained* absolutely exhibits the temptation of our blessed Saviour in the light of a duel, or personal contest, between him and the Arch-enemy of mankind ; in which our Lord, by his divine patience, fortitude, and resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, vanquishes the wiles of the Devil. • He thereby attests his own superiority over his antagonist, and his ability to restore the lost happiness of mankind, by *regaining Paradise* for them, and by rescuing and redeeming them from that power, which had led them captive. DUNSTER.

But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles ! 175

The Father knows the Son ; therefore secure

Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,

Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,

Allure, or terrify, or undermine.

Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell, 180

And, devilish machinations, come to nought !

So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd :

Milton might have probably been influenced, in his adoption of the word *duel*, by the title and subject of the following curious and rare book : “ *Le Duel et Combat de Jesus Empereur, Roy, et Monarque de tout l’Univers, et Prince de Lumiere, à l’encontre de son ennemy Sathan, Prince des Tenebres, et inique usurpateur de ce monde visible. Composé par F. Guillaume Zoline, Religieux profez d’Abbaye de Madame S. Genevieve, &c.*” 12mo. Paris, 1587. TODD.

Ver. 175. *But to vanquish*] Milton lays the accent on the last syllable in *vanquish*, as elsewhere in *triumph* ; and in many places\* he imitates the Latin and Greek prosody, and makes a vowel long before two consonants.\* JORTIN.

\* The accent upon the last syllable of *triumph* was common in Milton’s time ; and the accent upon the last syllable also of *vanquish* may be paralleled by a passage in Shakspeare’s *Hen. VI.* Part I. A. iii. S. iii.

“ I am *vanquish’d* ; these haughty words of hers

“ Have batter’d me like roaring cannon-shot.” TODD.

Ver. 182. *So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun’d :*

*Mean while the Son of God,]*\* How nearly does the poet here adhere to the same way of speaking which he had used in *Paradise Lost*, on the same occasion, B. iii. 416 !

“ *Thus they in Heaven, above the starry sphere,*

“ *Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.*

“ *Mean while upon the firm opacous globe*

“ *Of this round world, &c.*” THYER.

Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days  
 Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,  
 Musing, and much revolving in his breast, 185  
 How best the mighty work he might begin  
 Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first  
 Publish his God-like office now mature,  
 One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading

Ver. 182. ————— vigils *tun'd*.] • This is a very uncommon expression, and not easy to be understood, unless we suppose, that by *vigils*, the poet means those songs which they sung while they kept their watches. Singing of hymns is their manner of keeping their *wakes* in Heaven: And I see no reason why their evening service may not be called *vigils*, as their morning service is called *matins*. NEWTON.

• The evening service in the Roman Catholick churches is called *vespers*. There was formerly a nocturnal service called *vigils*, or *nocturns*, which was chanted and accompanied with musick. Ducange explains *vigiliæ* “*ipsum officium nocturnum quod in vigiliis nocturnis olim decantabatur*.”—The old writers often speak of the *vigiliarum cantica*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 183. ————— *who yet some days*  
*Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd*.] • The poet, I presume, said this upon the authority of the first chapter of St. John's gospel, where certain particulars, which happened several days together, are related concerning the Son of God, and it is said, ver. 28. “*These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing*.”. NEWTON.

Ver. 185. ————— *much revolving in his breast*.] Virg. *Æn.* x. 890. “*Multa movens animo*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. *One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading*  
*And his deep thoughts*.] • In what a fine light does Milton here place that text of Scripture, where it is said that *Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness*! He adheres strictly to the inspired historian, and at the same time gives it a turn which is extremely poetical. THYER.

And his deep thoughts, the better to converse 190  
 With solitude, till, far from track of men,  
 Thought following thought, and step by step  
 led on.

He enter'd now the bordering defart wild,  
 And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,

Ver. 190. ————— *the better to converse*  
*With solitude,]* So, in *Comus*, v. 375.

————— “Wisdom’s self  
 “ Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude.” DUNSTER.

But the poet here perhaps alludes to the sacred text, where it is said of our Saviour, that, “in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed *into a solitary place*, and there prayed,” *Mark* i. 35. TODD.

Ver. 191. ————— *far from track of men,]*  
*Sophocl. Philoct.* ver. 493. *Χωρίς ανθρώπων ὄρεος.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 193. *He enter'd now the bordering defart wild,*  
*And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,]*  
 The wilderness, in which John preached the gospel, and where Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan went out to him and were baptized in Jordan, we are expressly told by St. Matthew, iii. 1. *was the wilderness of Judea*; which extended from the river Jordan all along the western side of the Asphaltick Lake, or *Dead Sea*. The different parts of this wilderness had different names, from the neighbouring cities or mountains; thus 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. it is called the *wilderness of Ziph*, and, xxiv. 1. the *wilderness of Engaddi*. The word מדרבר in Scripture, which in our version is rendered wilderness or defart, does not mean a country absolutely barren or uninhabited, but only uncultivated. Indeed in the 15th chapter of *Joshua*, where the cities of Judah are enumerated, we read of six cities *in the wilderness*. Of these Engaddi stood nearest to the river Jordan, and the northern end of the Dead Sea. The *defart*, where Milton, following what could be collected from Scripture, now places our Lord, we may suppose then to be that part of the wilderness of Judea, in the neighbourhood of Engaddi. The

His holy meditations thus pursued. 195

O, what a multitude of thoughts at once  
Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider  
What from within I feel myself, and hear  
What from without comes often to my ears,  
Ill fort'ning with my present state compar'd ! 200  
When I was yet a child, no childish play  
To me was pleasing ; all my mind was set

wildernesses, or uncultivated parts of Judea, appear chiefly to have been forests and woods, *loci saltuosa et sylvestra*. (See Reland's *Palæstina*, L. 1. c. 56. *de locis incultis et sylvis Palæstinae*.) About Engaddi also there were many mountains and rocks. David is described (1 *Sam.* xxiii. 29.) dwelling in strong holds at Engaddi ; and of Saul, when in pursuit of him, (xxiv. 2.) it is said that *he went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats*.

The " bordering desert " then is the rocky uncultivated forest country nearest to that part of Jordan where John had been baptizing, and our blessed Lord is accordingly, with the greatest accuracy of description, there represented, as entering

————— " now the bordering desert wild,  
" And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round."

It should be observed, that D'Anville, in the map of Palestine in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. He places it towards the northern end of that part of Jordan, which flows from the lake of Genezaret into the Dead Sea ; and on the eastern bank of the river ; almost opposite Enon. But it is nearly certain, that it really stood, as bishop Pearce supposes, (*see his note on John* i. 28.) at the southern end of the river Jordan, on the western bank ; and within a little distance of the wilderness, being only a very few miles from the Dead Sea.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 201. *When I was yet a child, no childish play*

*To me was pleasing ;* ] • How finely and consistently, as Mr. Thyer observes, does Milton here imagine the youthful meditations of our Saviour ! • Dr. Jortin was of opinion, that

Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,  
 What might be publick good; myself I thought  
 Born to that end, born to promote all truth, 205  
 All righteous things: therefore, above my years,  
 The law of God I read, and found it sweet,  
 Made it my whole delight, and in it grew  
 To such perfection, that, ere yet my age  
 Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast

Milton might here allude to Callimachus's account of Jupiter's infantine disposition, *Hymn in Jov.* v. 56. Dr. Newton produced a similar description of Demophilus by Pindar, *Pyth. Od.* iv. 501. And Mr. Dunster refers to an apposite passage in Plutarch's Life of Cato. But the conclusion, made by Dr. Newton, still applies "Our author *might* allude to those passages, but he *certainly did* allude to the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xiii. 11, only inverting the thought, *When I was a child, I spake as a child, &c.*" TODD.

Ver. 204. ————— myself I thought

Born to that end, born to promote all truth,]  
 Alluding to our Saviour's words, *John* xviii. 37. "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." NEWTON.

Ver. 206. ————— therefore, above my years,

The law of God I read, &c.] This has some resemblance to Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 311.

"Ante annos animúmque gerens curámque virilem."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 207. The law of God I read, and found it sweet,

Made it my whole delight,] • "How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!" *Psalms* cxix. 103.

"And his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night." *Psalms* i. 2. DUNSTER.

Ver. 209. ————— ere yet my age

Had measur'd twice six years,] The following



I went into the temple, there to hear 211  
 The teachers of our law, and to propose  
 What might improve my knowledge or their  
 own ;  
 And was admir'd by all : yet this not all

verses of Statius bear a resemblance not only to this immediate passage, but also to some of the preceding lines, *Sylv.* v. ii. 12.

————— “ *Octonos bis jam tibi circuit annos*

“ *Vita; sed angustis animus robustior annis,*

“ *Succumbitque oneri, et mentem sua non capit ætas.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 209. ————— *that ere yet my age*

*Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast*

*I went into the temple, there to hear*

*The teachers of our law, and to propose*

*What might improve my knowledge or their own ;]*

Though Milton, in one of his early poems, has paid a tribute of respect to the “*trump of Cremona*,” it is but seldom that we can trace him to any part of the *Christiad*. There is however some resemblance here to the description, in that poem, of Jesus at this early age, when at Jerusalem, at the Feast of the Passover, going into the Temple, and *sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions*. Joseph, who is made by Vida to narrate the early part of our Saviour's life, describes himself and Mary, after having missed Jesus on their road, returning to Jerusalem, and finding him in the temple, as he is here described. • *Christ.* iii. 947.

“ *Ecce facerdotum in medio conspeximus illum,*

“ *(Prima rudimenta, et virtutis signa futuræ,)*

“ *Alta recensentem vatum monumenta, patrúmque*

“ *Primores ultro scitantes obscura, docentémque.*

“ *Illum omnes admirari haud vulgata canentem*

“ *Supra aciem, captúmque hominis, mentémque vigentem,*

“ *Humanâ non vi edoctum, non arte magistrâ,*

“ *Maturúmque animi nimium puerilibus annis.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 214. *And was admir'd by all:]* .“ And all that heard

To which my spirit aspir'd; victorious deeds 215  
 Flam'd in my heart, heroick acts; one while  
 To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke;  
 Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,  
 Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,  
 Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd: 220  
 Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first  
 By winning words to conquer willing hearts,

him were astonished at his understanding and answers," *Luke*  
 ii. 47. NEWTON.

Ver. 218. *Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,*

*Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,]* Milton here carries his republican principles to the greatest height, in supposing the overthrow of all monarchy to have been one of the objects of our Lord's early contemplations. We may compare his *Samson Agonistes*, v. 1268, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 221. *Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first]* The true spirit of toleration breathes in these lines, and the sentiment is very fitly put into the mouth of him, who *came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* NEWTON.

Ver. 222. *By winning words to conquer willing hearts,]* Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 561.

————— " *victorque volentes*

" *Per populos dat jura* " —————

which expression of Virgil seems to be taken from Xenophon, *Oeconomic.* xxi. 12. Οὐ γὰρ πάντες μοι δοκεῖ ὅλον τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ θεῖον, τὸ ἐθέλοντων ἀρχεῖν. JORTIN.

Dr. Newton has commended the alliteration of *w's* in this line. Alliteration, not too frequently repeated, undoubtedly gives sometimes force and energy to a line; but surely several of our late writers carry it to a nauseous and unwarrantable length. Of all writers, Dryden seems to be most happy in the temperate and proper use of alliteration; but he has scarcely ever more than three words in a line that begin with the same letter.

JOS. WARTON.

And make persuasion do the work of fear;  
 At least to try, and teach the erring soul,  
 Not wilfully misdoing, but unaware 225  
 Mised; the stubborn only to subdue.  
 These growing thoughts my mother soon per-  
 ceiving,  
 By words at times cast forth, inly rejoic'd,  
 And said to me apart; "High are thy thoughts,  
 "O Son, but nourish them, and let them soar 230  
 "To what highth sacred virtue and true worth

Ver. 226. ——— *the stubborn only to subdue.*] In all the editions we read "the stubborn only to *destroy*." And this being good sense, the mistake is not easily detected: but in the first edition the reader is desired, in the table of Errata, for *destroy* to read *subdue*; and, if we consider it, this is the more proper word, more suitable to the humane and heavenly character of the speaker; and besides it answers to the *subdue and quell* in ver. 218. "The Son of Man came *not to destroy* men's lives, &c." *Luke ix. 56.* NEWTON.

In Tonson's 12mo. edit. 1747, it is rightly printed, "The stubborn only to *subdue*." TODD.

Ver. 228. ——— *inly rejoic'd,*] Virgil, *Æn. i. 502.*

"*Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.*" JORTIN.

The reader should recollect, that the occasion of the above verse, which is finely descriptive of maternal delight, was the distinguishing personal grace and divine appearance of Diana on the banks of Eurotas, surrounded by her nymphs; among whom

————— "illa pharetram  
 "Fert humero, gradiénſque Deas supereminet omnes."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 231. ——— *true worth*] *HOMER, Od. III. v.*

"*Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,*

"*Curat reponi deterioribus.*" DUNSTER.

“ Can raise them, though above example high ;  
 “ Bymatchless deeds expresse thy matchless Sire,  
 “ For know, thou art no son of mortal man ;  
 “ Though men esteem thee low of parentage, 235  
 “ Thy Father is the Eternal King who rules  
 “ All Heaven and Earth, Angels and sons of  
     “ men ;  
 “ A messenger from God foretold thy birth  
 “ Conceiv’d in me a virgin ; he foretold,  
 “ Thou should’st be great, and sit on David’s  
     “ throne, 240  
 “ And of thy kingdom there should be no end.  
 “ At thy nativity, a glorious quire  
 “ Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung  
 “ To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,

Ver. 233. *By matchless deeds expresse thy matchless Sire,*  
 ‘ Milton, in one place of his *Par. Lost*, uses the verb *to expresse*,  
 in the same sense as he has done here. It is one of the speeches  
 of the Deity to Adam after his creation.

“ Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas’d,  
 “ And find thee knowing, not in beasts alone  
 “ Which thou hast rightly nam’d, but of thyself,  
 “ *Expressing* well the spirit within thee free,  
 “ My image, not imparted to the brute.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 239. ————— *he foretold,*

*Thou should’st be great, and sit on David’s throne,  
 And of thy kingdom there should be no end.]* See

*Luke i. 32, 33.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 241. ————— *there should be no end.]* Tickell  
 and Fenton, after Tonson, corruptly read, “ *there shall be no end.*”  
 Dr. Newton restored the true reading. TODD.

Ver. 242. *At thy nativity, a glorious quire  
 Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung  
 To shepherds, watching at their folds by night, &c.]*

“ And told them the Messiah now was born, 245  
 “ Where they might see him, and to thee they  
     “ came,  
 “ Directed to the manger where thou lay’st,  
 “ For in the inn was left no better room :  
 “ A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing,  
 “ Guided the wise men thither from the east, 250  
 “ To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;  
 “ By whose bright course led on they found the  
     “ place,  
 “ Affirming it thy star, new-graven in Heaven,  
 “ By which they knew the King of Israel born.  
 “ Just Simeon and prophetick Anna, warn’d 255

See *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 364.

“ His place of birth a solemn Angel tells  
 “ To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night ;  
 “ They gladly thither haste, and by a quire  
 “ Of squadron’d angels hear his carol sung.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 249. *A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing,  
 Guided the wise men thither from the east,  
 To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;]*

So, in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 360.

——— “ yet at his birth a star,  
 “ Unseen before in Heaven, proclaims him come,  
 “ And guides the Eastern sages, who inquire  
 “ His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 255. *Just Simeon and prophetick Anna,]* • It may not  
 be improper to remark how strictly our author adheres to the  
 Scripture history, not only in the particulars which he relates,  
 but also in the very epithets which he affixes to the persons ; as  
 here *Just Simeon*, because it is said, Luke ii. 25. *and the same*  
*man was just* : and *prophetick Anna*, because it is said, Luke ii. 36.

“ By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake,  
 “ Before the altar and the vested priest,  
 “ Like things of thee to all that present stood.”—  
 This having heard, straight I again revolv’d  
 The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ  
 Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes 261  
 Known partly, and soon found, of whom they  
 spake

I am ; this chiefly, that my way must lie  
 Through many a hard assay, even to the death,  
 Ere I the promis’d kingdom can attain, 265

*and there was one Anna a prophetess.* The like accuracy may be observed in all the rest of this speech. NEWTON.

Ver. 257. ———— *the vested priest,*] The epithet *vested* is singularly proper, because the *vestments* of the Jewish priest were enjoined, and particularly described, by God himself ; and, unless habited in them, the ministration of the priest at the altar was illegal, and expressly forbidden under the penalty of “ bearing his iniquity,” *Exod.* xxviii. 43. HURD.

Ver. 262. ———— *and soon found, of whom they spake*  
*I am ;*] The Jews thought that the Messiah, when he came, would be without all power and distinction, and *unknown even to himself*, till Elias had anointed and declared him. Χριστός δὲ ἐὶ καὶ γεγένηται, καὶ ἐστὶ πᾶς, ἄγνωστος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἔδδὲ αὐτὸ πᾶσι αὐτοῖς ἐπίσταται, ἔδδὲ ἔχει δύναμιν τίνα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἡλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν, καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιῇσῃ. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 266. Ed. Col. CALTON.

Ver. 264. *Through many a hard assay, even to the death,*] See note on *Comus*, v. 972. Unto *the death*, as Mr. Dunster observes, is an expression used in our translation of the Scriptures. See *Acts* xxii. 4. See also *Judges* v. 18, and *Revel.* xii. 11. It is also an old poetical phrase, being used by Chaucer and Shakespeare ; and is supposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt to have been originally a mistaken translation of the French *la mort*. TODD.

Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins  
 Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.  
 Yet, neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,  
 The time prefix'd I waited; when behold  
 The Baptist, (of whose birth I oft had heard, 270  
 Not knew by sight,) now come, who was to  
 come

Before Messiah, and his way prepare!  
 I, as all others, to his baptism came,  
 Which I believ'd was from above; but he  
 Straight knew me, and with loudest voice pro-  
 claim'd 275

Me him, (for it was shewn him so from Heaven,)  
 Me him, whose harbinger he was; and first  
 Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,  
 As much his greater, and was hardly won:

Ver. 266. ————— *whose sins*

*Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.]*

Isaiah liii. 6. "*The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.*"

NEWTON.

Ver. 271. *Not knew by sight,)]*. Though Jesus and John the Baptist were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptist says expressly, *John* i. 31, 33, "*And I knew him not.*" He did not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour came to his baptism; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever conversed together. NEWTON.

Ver. 279. *As much his greater,]* • Here Milton uses the word *greater* in the same manner as he had done before, *Paradise Lost*, B. v. 172.

"Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,

"Acknowledge him *thy greater.*"

But, as I rose out of the laving stream, 280  
 Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence  
 The Spirit descended on me like a dove ;  
 And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,  
 Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounc'd me his,  
 Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 285  
 He was well pleas'd ; by which I knew the time  
 Now full, that I no more should live obscure,  
 But openly begin, as best becomes,  
 The authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.  
 And now by some strong motion I am led 290  
 Into this wilderness, to what intent  
 I learn not yet ; perhaps I need not know,  
 For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

And this, I think, is a proof that the present reading there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's emendation and mine ought absolutely to be rejected. THYER.

Ver. 280. ———— *out of the laving stream,*] Alluding to the phrase *laver of regeneration* so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the present condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduced by the poet, to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is opened.

THYER.

Ver. 281. ———— *eternal doors,*] So in *Psal.* xxiv. 7, 9. *everlasting doors.* And *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 205.

——— “ Heaven open'd wide  
 “ Her ever-during gates.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 286. ———— *the time*  
*Now full,*] Alluding to the Scripture phrase, *the fulness of time.* Gal. iv. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.*] This



So spake our Morning-Star, then in his rise,  
And, looking round, on every side beheld 295  
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades ;

whole soliloquy is formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, *that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures and from the first moment of that union, possessed of all the knowledge of the ΛΟΓΟΣ, as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit.* [See Le Blanc's *Elucidatio Status Controversiarum*, &c. Cap. 3.] In his early years he *increased in wisdom*, and in stature. *St. Luke*, ii. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that—" *ipsa Θεότης plenitudo sese, prout & quatenus ipsi libuit, humanitati assumptæ infinuavit: quicquid garriant matæologi, & novi Ubiquitarii Eutytychiani.*" Grotius employs the same principle, to explain *St. Mark*, xiii. 32.—" *Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non impie posse exponi hunc in modum, ut dicamus divinam sapientiam menti humanæ Christi effectus suos impressisse pro temporum ratione. Nam quid aliud est, si verba non torquemus, ἀπέκρυψε σοφίαν, Luc. ii. 52 ?*" And our Tillotson approved the opinion.—" *It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Divine Wisdom, which dwelt in our Saviour, did communicate itself to his human soul according to his pleasure, and so his Human Nature might at some times not know some things. And if this be not admitted, how can we understand that passage concerning our Saviour, Luke, ii. 52. that Jesus grew in wisdom and stature ?*" CALTON.

Ver. 294. *So spake our Morning-Star,*] So our Saviour is called, in the *Revelation*, xxii. 16, *the bright and morning star.*

NEWTON.

And thus Spenser, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Love* :

" O blessed well of love ! O flowre of grace !

" O glorious *Morning-star* ! &c."

Compare also *Luke* i. 78, 2 *Pet.* i. 19. DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. ————— on every side beheld

*A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades ;*] Thus

Virgil describes the wood in which Euryalus is taken, in his ninth *Æneid*, 381.

The way he came not having mark'd, return  
 Was difficult, by human steps untrod ;  
 And he still on was led, but with such thoughts  
 Accompanied of things past and to come 300  
 Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend  
 Such solitude before choicest society.  
 Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill

" Sylva fuit, late dumis atque ilice nigra

" Horrida, quam denſi complerant undique ſentes :

" Rara per occultos lucebat ſemita calles."

But *dyſk with horrid ſhades* is more immediately from *Æn.* i. 165.

" Horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra." DUNSTER.

Probably not without a reference alſo to Taſſo. See my note on *Comus*, ver. 428. TODD.

Ver. 296. *A pathleſs deſart,*] *Æchyl. Prom. Vinc.* ver. 2.  
 ABATON *ἐρημια*. And ſee Beaumont and Fletcher's *Nice Valour* :

" Fountain heads, and *pathleſs* groves,

" Places which pale Paſſion loves." DUNSTER.

Ver. 298. ————— *by human ſteps untrod ;*] Compare the beginning of Petrarch's 28th Sonnet :

" Solo e penſoſo i piu deſerti campi

" Vo miſurando a paſſi tardi e lenti ;

" E gli occhi porto per fuggire intenti

" Dove reſtigio uman l'arena ſtampi." TODD.

Ver. 299. *And he ſtill on was led, but with ſuch thoughts  
 Accompanied of things paſt and to come  
 Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend  
 Such ſolitude before choicest ſociety.]* • The Poet here reſumes and continues the deſcription he had given of our bleſſed Lord, previous to his Soliloquy, on his firſt entering the deſart, v. 189. DUNSTER.

Ver. 303. *Full forty days he paſs'd, whether on hill*

*Sometimes, &c.]* • Here the Poet of *Paradiſe Loſt*

Sometimes, anon on shady vale, each night  
 Under the covert of some ancient oak 305  
 Or cedar to defend him from the dew,  
 Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;  
 Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt,  
 Till those days ended; hunger'd then at last 309  
 Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,

breaks out in his meridian splendour. There is something particularly picturesque in this description. DUNSTER.

Ver. 306. *Or cedar*] • There is great propriety in mentioning this tree, as being peculiar to the country where the scene is laid. JOS. WARTON.

Ibid. ———— *to defend him from the dew,*] • That the dews of that country were very considerable, may be collected from several parts of Scripture. The dews of mount Hermon are particularly noticed in the 133d Psalm, as producing the most irriguous effects. Maundrell, in his *Travels*, when within little more than half a day's journey of this mountain, says, "we were sufficiently instructed by experience what the Holy Psalmist means by the *dew of Hermon*, our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night." DUNSTER.

Ver. 307. *Or harbour'd in one cave,*] Dr. Jortin wishes to read *some cave*.—Caves are very frequently spoken of in Scripture, as places of retreat for protection or shelter. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,*] St. Mark's short account of THE TEMPTATION is, that our blessed Lord "*was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him,*" Ch. i. 13.

Abp. Secker, in his Sermon on the Temptation says, "During these forty days it is observed by St. Mark, that our blessed Redeemer *was with the wild beasts*, which words must imply, else they are of no significance, that the fiercest animals were awed by his presence, and so far laid aside their savage nature for a time; thus verifying literally, what Eliphaz in Job saith

Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd ; his walk  
 The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,  
 The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.

figuratively, concerning a good man ; “ *At destruction and famine shalt thou laugh, neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth, FOR THEY SHALL BE AT PEACE WITH THEE.*”

Before the Fall, Milton supposes those beasts, which are now wild, to have been harmless, void of ferocity to each other, and even affectionate towards man. See *Par. Lost*. B. iv. 340, &c. Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of nature, the animals begin to grow savage. See *Par. Lost*, B. x. 707.

Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form amongst them, they begin to resume a certain proportion of their Paradisiacal disposition.

In Homer's *Hymn to Venus*, where that Goddess descends on Mount Ida, to visit Anchises at his folds, her appearance is described as having the same effect, in its fullest extent, ver. 68, &c.

Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, 1610 ; has given a similar but more diffuse description of the effect of our Lord's presence on the wild beasts in the wilderness. DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.*] So, in *Par. Lost*. B. iv. 401.

————— “ about them round

“ *A lion now he stalks with fiery glare ;*

“ *Then as a tiger ———*”

Again, B. x. 712, it is said that, after the fall, the wild beasts, ceasing to graze,

“ Devour'd each other, nor stood much in awe

“ Of man, but fled him, or *with countenance grim*

“ *Glar'd on him passing ———*”

The latter part of which description is palpably taken from Shakspeare, *Jul. Cæs.* A. i. S. iv.

————— “ I met a lion

“ *Who glar'd upon me, and went furly by,*

“ *Without annoying me.*” DUNSTER.

But now an aged man in rural weeds, 314  
 Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,  
 Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve  
 Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,  
 'To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,  
 He saw approach, who first with curious eye 319  
 Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd  
 spake.

Ver. 314. *But now an aged man*] As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assumed, the Poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour, under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerfelt. THYER.

See the Preliminary Remarks in this volume, on the Origin of Paradise Regained. TODD.

Ver. 319. ————— *with curious eye*

Perus'd him,]. Thus in *Hamlet*, Ophelia, describing the behaviour of Hamlet to her, says,

“ He falls to such *perusal* of my face,

“ As he would draw it :”

And, in the last Scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo, when he has killed Paris, says

————— “ Let me *peruse* this face !

“ Mercutio's kinsman ! noble County Paris !”

And in the *Paradise Lost*, B. viii, where Adam relates to Raphael his own sensations, immediately after his creation, having with infinite beauty described the scene that surrounded him, and first attracted and gratified his attention, he thus proceeds to speak of his survey of himself :

“ Myself I then *perus'd*, and limb by limb

“ Survey'd.” DUNSTER.

Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this  
 place  
 So far from path or road of men, who pass  
 In troop or caravan? for single none  
 Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here  
 His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth.

Ver. 323. *In troop or caravan?*] •A caravan, as Tavernier says, is a great convoy of merchants, who meet at certain times and places, to put themselves into a condition of defence from thieves, who ride in troops in several desert places upon the road. Hence the safest way of travelling in Turkey and Persia is with the caravan. See *Travels into Persia*, in Harris, vol. ii. ch. 2.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *for single none*

*Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here*

*His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth.*] •Milton seems here to have had in his mind the vast sandy deserts of Africa; which Diodorus Siculus describes as a—"desert, full of wild beasts, of a vast extent, and from its being devoid of water, and bare of all kind of food, not only difficult, but absolutely dangerous to pass over." In Jeremiah, the desert is described "a land that no man passed through," Septuag. ἐν γῇ ΑΒΑΤΩ, xi. 6. Compare the opening of Dante's *Inferno*, where, having passed through the more dreadful part of the *piaggia deserta*, the poet turns himself to regard the dangerous region:

"Così l'animo mio, ch'ancor fuggiva,

"Si volse 'ndietro a rimirar lo passo,

"Che non lasciò giammai persona viva." DUNSTER.

Ver. 325. ————— *pin'd with hunger*] •Death, in the tenth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, thus describes himself,

————— "me, who, *with eternal famine pine*." DUNSTER.

But the expression here was probably suggested by a passage in Drummond's *Flowers of Sion*; where, having described the returning reason of the Prodigal Son, the poet adds,

"This, where an aged oak had spread its arms,

"Thought the Lost Child, while as the herds he led,

"And, *pin'd with hunger*, on wild acorns fed." TODD.

I ask the rather, and the more admire, 326  
 For that to me thou seem'st the Man, whom late  
 Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford  
 Of Jordan honour'd so, and call'd thee Son  
 Of God: I saw and heard, for we sometimes 330  
 Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come  
 forth

To town or village nigh, (nighest is far,)  
 Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear  
 What happens new; fame also finds us out.

To whom the Son of God. Who brought me  
 hither, 335

Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek.

By miracle he may, replied the swain;  
 What other way I see not; for we here

Ver. 330. ——— *I saw and heard, for we sometimes*.

*Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth*

*To town or village nigh,]* ♦ All this is finely in cha-

acter with the assumed person of the Tempter, and tends at the same time to give more effect to the preceding descriptions. It should be considered also that it was not necessary to confine those descriptions merely to that part of the wilderness of Judea, into which our Lord was now just entering, v. 193, or where at most he had not advanced any great way, v. 299.—That wilderness was of a great length, the most habitable part being northward towards the river Jordan; southward it extended into vast and uninhabited deserts, which, in the map in Reland's *Palæstina*, are termed *vastissimæ solitudines*. ♦ To describe these, in such a manner as might impress a deep sense of danger in the mind of him to whom he addressed himself, was perfectly consistent with the Tempter's purpose. DUNSTER.

Ver. 338. ——— *for we here*

*Live on tough roots and stubs,]* This must certainly

be a mistake of the printer, and instead of *stubs* it ought to be

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Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd  
 More than the camel, and to drink go far, 340  
 Men to much misery and hardship born:  
 But, if thou be the Son of God, command  
 'That out of these hard stones be made thee  
 bread,

So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve  
 With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste. 345

He ended, and the Son of God replied.  
 'Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not  
 written,  
 (For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,)

read *shrubs*. \*It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and asceticks living in deserts upon roots and shrubs, but I never heard of *stubs* being used for food, nor indeed is it reconcileable to common sense. Some have thought that the *axpides*, which the Scripture says were the meat of the Baptist, were the tops of plants or shrubs. THYER.

Yet, in the *Tempest*, Prospero threatens Ferdinand with nearly as hard fare, A. i. S. iii.

————— " thy food shall be  
 " The fresh brook mussels, *wither'd roots, and husks*  
 " *Wherein the acorn cradled.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 339. ————— to thirst inur'd

*More than the camel,*] \*It is commonly said that camels will go without water three or four days. " Sitim & quadriduo tolerant." Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. sect. 26. But Tavernier says, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days. NEWTON.

Ver. 348. (*For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,*)] In the concluding Book of this Poem, our Lord says to the Tempter,

————— " desist, thou art discern'd,  
 " And toil'st in vain." DUNSTER.



Man lives not by bread only, but each word  
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed 350  
 Our fathers here with manna? In the mount  
 Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;  
 And forty days Elijah, without food,  
 Wander'd this barren waste; the same I now:  
 Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, 355  
 Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?

Whom thus answer'd the Arch-Fiend, now  
 undisguis'd.

'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,

Ver. 349. *Man lives not by bread only, but each word  
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed  
 Our fathers here with manna?*]

The words of St. Matthew, iv. 14, which refer to the eighth chapter of *Deuteronomy*, ver. 3, where the humiliation of the Israelites in the wilderness, and their being there miraculously fed with manna, are recited as arguments for their obedience, "*and he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live*"

The Poet, who was, beyond a doubt, "mighty in the scripture," has, with much art, availed himself of the original passage in the Old Testament, as it affords him such an immediate and apposite transition to the miraculous feeding the Children of Israel, their great lawgiver, and afterwards Elijah, in the wilderness. DUNSTER.

Ver. 356. *Knowing who I am,*]. This is not to be understood of Christ's *divine* nature. The Tempter knew him to be the person declared the *Son of God* by a voice from Heaven, v. 385, and that was all that he knew of him. CALTON.

Ver. 358. *'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,*] Satan's instantaneous avowal of himself here has a great and fine effect. It is consistent with a certain dignity of character which is given

Who, leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt,  
 Kept not my happy station, but was driven 360  
 With them from blifs to the bottomless deep,  
 Yet to that hideous place not so confin'd  
 By rigour unconniving, but that oft,  
 Leaving my dolorous prifon, I enjoy  
 Large liberty to round this globe of earth, 365  
 Or range in the air; nor from the Heaven of  
 Heavens  
 Hath he excluded my refort fometimes.

him in general, through the whole of the *Paradise Loft*.—The  
 reft of his fpeech is artfully fubmiffive. DUNSTER.

Ver. 360. *Kept not my happy ftation,*] See *Par. Loft*, B. vii.  
 145, and the note there. TODD.

Ver. 364. ——— *my dolorous prifon,*] *Par. Loft*. B. ii. 618.

—— “ through many a dark and dreary vale

“ They pafs'd, and many a region *dolorous*,

“ O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp.” DUNSTER.

Again, in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, ft. xiv.

“ And *Hell* itfelf will pafs away,

“ And leave her *dolorous* manfions to the peering day.”

Although the adjective *dolorous* be common in our old poetry,  
 Milton, I am inclined to think, did not forget Dante's uſage of  
 it, in the *Inferno*, where Satan is called, c. xxxiv.

“ Lo 'mperador del *doloroſo* regno.” TODD.

Ver. 365. ——— *to round this globe of earth,*] Milton  
 uſes the ſame phraſe in his *Paradise Loft*, B. x. 684. ſpeaking of  
 the ſun:

“ Had rounded ſtill the horizon.” THYER.

In Quarles's *Job Militant*, the Devil thus concludes his reply  
 to God's queſtion, Whence comeſt thou?

“ The earth is my dominion, hell's my home;

“ I round the world, and ſo from thence I come.”

DUNSTER.

I came among the sons of God, when he  
 Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job  
 To prove him and illustrate his high worth; 370  
 And, when to all his Angels he propos'd  
 To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud  
 That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,  
 I undertook that office, and the tongues  
 Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies 375  
 To his destruction, as I had in charge;  
 For what he bids I do. Though I have lost  
 Much lustre of my native brightness, lost

Ver. 372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud*] \*This story of Ahab is related, I Kings, xxii. 19, &c. “*I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so.*” This symbolical vision of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are spoken of after the manner of men in condescension to the weakness of their capacities, our author was too good a critick to understand literally, though as a poet he represents it so. NEWTON.

Ver. 377. ———— *Though I have lost*

*Much lustre of my native brightness,*] It is said of Satan, in the first Book of the *Paradise Lost*, v. 591.

————— “his form had yet *not lost*

“*All her original brightness.*”

And when Ithuriel and Zephon, in the end of the fourth Book, find him in Paradise, and charge him with being one of the rebel Spirits adjudged to Hell, Satan asks, *if they do not know him?* To which Zephon replies,

'To be belov'd of God, I have not lost  
 'To love, at least contemplate and admire, 380  
 What I see excellent in good, or fair,  
 Or virtuous ; I should so have lost all sense :  
 What can be then less in me than desire  
 To see thee and approach thee, whom I know  
 Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent 385  
 Thy wisdom, and behold thy God-like deeds ?

“ Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,  
 “ Or undiminish'd *brightness* to be known,  
 “ As when thou stood'st in Heaven upright and pure ;  
 “ That glory then, when thou no more wast good,  
 “ Departed from thee ;——”

And in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 97. Satan describes himself “ chang'd in outward *lustre*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 379. ————— *I have not lost*

*To love, at least contemplate and admire,*

*What I see excellent in good, or fair,*

*Or virtuous ;* ] • In the second Book of the *Paradise*

*Lost*, where the fallen Angels are described doing homage to the Public Spirit of their Chief, it is said,

————— “ for neither do the Spirits damn'd

“ *Loſe all their virtue.*”

And, where Satan first sees Adam and Eve in Paradise, he “ contemplates them with admiration.” The turn of the words here very much resembles the following passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Fair Maid of the Inn*, A. v. S. 1.

“ Though I have lost my fortune, and lost you

“ For a worthy father ; yet I will not lose

“ My former virtue ; my integrity

“ Shall not forsake me.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 385. ————— *to hear attent*

*Thy wisdom,*] • Milton seems to have borrowed this word *attent*, and this emphatical manner of applying it, from Spenser, *Faery Queen*, vi. ix. 26.

Men generally think me much a foe  
 To all mankind: why should I? they to me  
 Never did wrong or violence; by them  
 I lost not what I lost, rather by them 390  
 I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them  
 dwell,

Copartner in these regions of the world,  
 If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,  
 Oft my advice by presages and signs,  
 And answers, oracles, portents and dreams, 395  
 Whereby they may direct their future life.  
 Envy they say excites me, thus to gain  
 Companions of my misery and woe.

"Whilst thus he talk'd, the knight with greedy

"Hung still upon his melting mouth *attent*."

Milton's entire expression, to *hear attent*, occurs in version of the Psalms, attributed to Archbishop Parker. p. 382.

"O Lord, *assent*; O *heare attent*

"My wofull voyce." TOWN.

Ver. 393. ————— *lend them oft my aid,*

*Oft my advice by presages and signs,*

*And answers, oracles, portents and dreams,*

*Whereby they may direct their future life.]* The

following passage of Cicero reflects so much light on these lines, as would incline one to believe that Milton had it in his mind.

"*Multa cernunt haruspices; multa augures provident; multa oraculis declarantur, multa vaticinationibus, multa somniis, multa portentis: quibus cognitis, multæ sæpe res hominum sententia atque utilitate partæ;*" (or, as Lambinus reads, *ex animi sententia atque utilitate partæ;*) "*multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt.*" *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 65, NEWTON.

Ver. 397. *Envy they say excites me, thus to gain*

*Companions of my misery and woe.]* "They say"

is not here merely expletory, or only of general reference. It

At first it may be ; but, long since with woe  
 Nearer acquainted, now I feel, by proof, 400  
 That fellowship in pain divides not smart,  
 Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.  
 Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd :  
 This wounds me most, (what can it less ?) that  
 Man,  
 Man fallen shall be restor'd, I never more. 405

relates to what Raphael in express terms *had said* in the conclusion of the sixth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, where he warns Adam of Satan's purposes against him and the motives of them; ver. 900—907. DUNSTER.

Ver. 400. Nearer] *Never*, in Milton's own edition; but, in the table of Errata, it is corrected *Nearer*. Several editions retain the error. Fenton, however, has rectified it, in his edition of 1730. TODD.

Ibid. ————— now I feel, by proof,  
*That fellowship in pain divides not smart,*] Our author had in his eye this line of the poet,

“Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.” THYER.

Or these of Ovid, *Met.* 15. 547.

“Non tamen Egeriæ luctus aliena levare

“Damna valent.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 404. *This wounds me most, (what can it less ?) that Man, Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more.*] •Very artful. As he could not acquit himself of envy and mischief, he endeavours to soften his crimes, by assigning this cause of them  
 WARBURTON.

The Poet very judiciously makes the Tempter conclude with these lines concerning the restoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to say something about the manner of it, to know which was one great part of his design, that he might be able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no less judgment is our Saviour represented in the following answer, taking no other notice of it than by replying, *Deservedly thou grieu'st, &c.* THYER.

To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied.  
 Deserv'dly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies  
 From the beginning, and in lies wilt end ;  
 Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come  
 Into the Heaven of Heavens: Thou com'st  
 indeed, 410

As a poor miserable captive thrall  
 Comes to the place where he before had sat  
 Among the prime in splendour, now depos'd,  
 Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,  
 A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn, 415  
 To all the host of Heaven: The happy place  
 Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy ;  
 Rather inflames thy torment; representing  
 Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,

Ver. 411. *As a poor miserable captive thrall*] *Thrall* is an old word for slave, frequent in Spenser; as Mr. Dunster has observed. See *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 34. "Like *captive THRALL*." Chaucer uses it as an adjective; *Fr. Tale*, ad fin.

"Disposeth ay your hertes to withstand

"The fend, that you wold maken *thrall* and bond."

Again, *Pers. Tale*, Rem. Lux. "Whether thou be male or female, yonge or olde, gentil or *thrall*, &c." TODD.

Ver. 416. ————— *The happy place*

*Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,*

*Rather inflames thy torment; representing*

*Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,]* We find

the same sentiment also, in *Paradise Lost*, B. ix. 467.

"But the hot Hell that always in him burns,

"Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight,

"And tortures him now more, the more he sees

"Of pleasure, not for him ordain'd." THYER.

Ver. 417. *Imparts to thee]* In all the editions, till that of Tonson's 1747, it is "*Imports* to thee:" although the error is desired to be corrected in Milton's table of Errata. TODD.

So never more in Hell than when in Heaven. 420  
 But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.  
 Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear  
 Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?  
 What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem  
 Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him 425  
 With all inflictions? but his patience won.  
 The other service was thy chosen task,  
 To be a liar in four hundred mouths;  
 For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.  
 Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all oracles 430  
 By thee are given, and what confess'd more true  
 Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,  
 By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.

Ver. 423. ——— or *pleasure to do ill excites*?] Satan, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 159, in his first conference with his infernal compeer, says

“ To do aught good never will be our task ;

“ But ever *to do ill our sole delight.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 426. ——— but *his patience won.*] The verb *won* I think is not often used as a verb neuter, but I find it so in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, i. vi. 39.

“ And he the stoutest knight that ever *won.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 428. ——— in *four hundred mouths* ;] “ Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together, *about four hundred men.*” 1 Kings, xxii. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 432. ——— *that hath been thy craft*

*By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.*] The following passage from St. Austin may serve to illustrate what Milton here says, “ Miscent tamen isti [Dæmones] fallacias ; et verum quod nōsse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi sine, prænuntiant.” *De Div. Dæmon.* Sect. 12. THYER.



But what have been thy answers, what but dark,  
 Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding, 435  
 Which they who ask'd have feldom understood,  
 And not well understood as good not known?  
 Who ever by consulting at thy shrine

Ver. 434. *But what have been thy answers, what but dark,  
 Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,*] The  
 oracles were often so obscure and dubious, that there was need  
 of other oracles to explain them. “ Sed jam ad te venio,

“ Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,  
 “ Unde superstitiosa primum sæva evasit vox fera.”

“ Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim  
 falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione  
 sapissime; partim *flexiloquis, et obscuris, ut interprete egeat inter-*  
*prete, et fors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit; partim ambiguis, et quæ*  
*ad dialecticum deferenda sint.*” Cicero *De Div.* ii. 56.

CALTON.

Milton, in these lines about the Heathen oracles, seems to have  
 had in view what Eusebius says more copiously upon this subject  
 in the fifth Book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*. That learned  
 father reasons in the very same way about them, and gives many  
 instances from history of their delusive and double meanings.

THYER.

Probably Milton had here in mind the exclamation also of  
 Macbeth, when he finds that the weird sisters had shuffled him  
 with ambiguous expressions, *Macbeth*, A. and S. ult.

“ And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd,  
 “ That palter with us in a double sense.”

But see also Heywood's *Hierarchy of Angels*, fol. 1635, p. 442,  
 where the “ doubtfull answers” of oracles are noticed, and  
 rightly described :

“ So intricate that none could understand,  
 “ Or meerely toyes and lies; for their words were,  
 “ By interpointing, so dispos'd, to beare  
 “ A double sense.” TODD.

Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct,  
 To fly or follow what concern'd him most, 440  
 And run not sooner to his fatal snare?  
 For God hath justly given the nations up  
 To thy delusions; justly, since they fell  
 Idolatrous: but, when his purpose is  
 Among them to declare his providence 445  
 To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy  
 truth,

But from him, or his Angels president  
 In every province, who, themselves disdaining

Ver. 439. ————— *instruct,*] Thus, B. ii. ver. 399, he writes *suspect* for *suspected*. In the *Paradise Lost* he always writes the participles at length; but in this Poem he has in every respect condensed his style, which may be one reason why it does not please the million. DUNSTER.

But he abbreviates the participle also in *Par. Lost*; as he writes *unsuspect* for *unsuspected*, B. ix. 771. And, in his Translation of the 6th *Psalms*, he writes *deject* for *dejected*. He was preceded by Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. i.

“ And I of ladies most *deject*, and wretched.” TODD.

Ver. 447. *But from him, or his Angels president*

*In every province,*] “ Utitur etiam eis Deus (Dæmonibus) ad veritatis manifestationem per ipsos fiendam, dum divina mysteria eis per Angelos revelantur.” The words are quoted from Aquinas (2da 2dæ *Quæst.* 172. Art. 6.) CALTON.

• This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Austin. Tertullian, speaking of the Gods of the Heathens and their oracles, says—“ Dispositiones etiam Dei & tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, & nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt. Ita & hinc fumentes quasdam temporum sortes æmulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem. In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, scient Cræsi, sciunt Pyrrhi.” *Apol.* C. 22. St. Austin, more appositely to our present purpose, answering the Heathen boasts of their oracles,

To approach thy temples, give thee in command  
 What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say 450  
 To thy adorers? Thou, with trembling fear,  
 Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st:  
 Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.  
 But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd;  
 No more shalt thou by oracling abuse 455  
 The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,

says—"tamen nec ista ipsa, quæ ab eis vix raro & clanculo proferuntur, movere nos debent, si cuiquam Dæmonum extortum est id proderet cultoribus suis quod didicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel ex oraculis Angelorum." Aug. *De Div. Dæmonum*, sect. 12. tom. 6. ed. Bened. And again, "Cum enim vult Deus etiam per infimos infernosque spiritus aliquem vera cognoscere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad istam mortalitatem pertinentia, facile est, & non incongruum, ut omnipotens & iustus ad eorum pœnam, quibus ista prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendit ante quam veniat prænoscedendo patiantur, occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat, ut quod audiant ab Angelis, prænuntient hominibus." *De Div. Quæst. ad Simpl.* L. 2. S. 3. Tom. 6. THYER.

Milton has here followed the Septuagint reading in *Deuteronomy*.  
 "Ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψις ἡ θύνη—ἔστησεν ὅρια ἰθὺν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων δεῖ.  
 WARBURTON.

Ver. 453. *Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.*] The Demons, Lactantius says, could certainly foresee, and truly foretel, many future events, from the knowledge they had of the dispositions of providence before their fall. And then they assumed all the honour to themselves, pretending to be the authors and doers of what they predicted. "Nam cum dispositiones Dei præsentiant, quippe qui ministri ejus fuerunt, interponunt se in his rebus; ut quæcunque à Deo vel facta sunt vel fiunt ipsi potissimum facere, aut fecisse videantur." *Div. Inst.* ii. 16. CALTON.

Ver. 456. ——— *henceforth oracles are ceas'd, &c.*] As Milton had before adopted the ancient opinion of oracles being

And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice  
 Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere ;  
 At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.  
 God hath now sent his living oracle 460

the operations of the fallen Angels, so here again he follows the same authority, in making them cease at the coming of our Saviour. See this matter fully discussed in Fontenelle's History of Oracles, and Father Baltus's answer to him. THYER.

Thus Juvenal, *Sat. vi. 554* ;

————— “ *Delphis oracula cessant.*”

And in the fifth Book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, where Appius is desirous to consult the Delphick oracle, but finds it dumb, the priestess tells him ;

————— “ *Muto Parnassius hiatu*

“ *Conticuit, pressitque Deum, seu spiritus istas*

“ *Desituit fauces, mundique in devia versum*

“ *Duxit iter.*”

————— “ *seu sponte Deorum*

“ *Cyrrha filet.*”

Thus also Milton, in his *Hymn on the Nativity* ;

“ *The oracles are dumb, &c.*”

And before him, Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Victory in Heaven*, ft. 82.

“ *The Angels caroll'd loud their song of peace,*

“ *The cursed oracles were stricken dumb.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 460. ————— *his living oracle*] Christ is styled by the Greek Fathers. *ἀντοζωὴ, ζωσα βουλὴ, λόγος ζῶν, essential life, the living counsel, and the living word of God.* And St. John says, that “ *in him was life, and the life was the light of men.*” i. 4. CALTON.

And in *Acts, vii. 38.* where it is said, “ *Who received the lively (or living) oracles to give unto us,*” instead of *λόγια ζῶντα*, some copies read *λόγον ζῶντα*. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *his living oracle*

*Into the world &c.*] Dr. Newton says he has here cor-

Into the world to teach his final will,  
 And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell  
 In pious hearts, an inward oracle  
 'To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend, 465  
 'Though inly stung with anger and disdain,  
 Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.  
 Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,  
 And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will  
 But misery hath wrested from me. Where 470  
 Easily canst thou find one miserable;  
 And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth,  
 If it may stand him more in stead to lie,  
 Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?  
 But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord; 475  
 From thee I can, and must submit, endure  
 Check or reproof, and glad to 'scape so quit.  
 Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,

rected an error, which had prevailed in most of the editions, except Milton's own, "*loving* oracle" instead of "*living* oracle." He notices another error a little afterwards, "*and inward* oracle" instead of "*an inward* oracle." Fenton had also rectified this last mistake. And Tonsou's edit. of 1747 had rectified both. TODD.

Ver. 468. *Sharply thou hast &c.*] The smoothness and hypocrisy of this speech of Satan are artful in the extreme, and cannot be passed over unobserved. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 474. *Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?*] Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word *abjure*, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Restoration? THYER.

Ver. 478. *Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,*] Thus Silius Italicus, Book xv, where Virtue is the speaker;

Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to the  
ear,

And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song ; 480

What wonder then if I delight to hear

Her dictates from thy mouth? Most men admire

Virtue, who follow not her lore : permit me

To hear thee when I come, (since no man comes,)

And talk at least, though I despair to attain. 485

Thy Father, who is holy, wise, and pure,

Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest

“ Casta mihi domus, et celfo flant colle penates ;

“ Ardua fuxofo perducit femita clivo ;

“ Afper principio, (nec enim mihi fallere mos eft,)

“ Profequitur labor. Adnitendum intrare volenti.”

Simonides places Virtue *δυσεμβλατοῖς ἐνι πελάγαις*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 480. — tuneable as sylvan pipe or song ;] So, in *Par. Lost*, v. 149.

————— “ fuch prompt eloquence

“ Flow'd from their lips in profe, or numerous verfe.

“ More tuneable than needed lute or harp

“ To add more sweetness.”

And Shakfpeare, *Midf. N. Dr.* A. i. S. xiv.

“ More tuneable than lark to fhepherd's ear.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 482. ————— Most men admire

Virtue, who follow not her lore :] Imitated from  
the well-known faying of Medea, Ovid *Mct.* vii. 20.

————— “ Video meliora, proboque ;

“ Deteriora fequor.” NEWTON.

Ver. 487. ————— atheous] Cicero, fpeaking of  
*Diagoras*, fays, “ atheos qui dictus eft.” *De Nat. Deor.* i. 23.

DUNSTER.

*Atheous* may have hence been coined by the poet. *Atheal*,  
which has the fame fignification, is not uncommon in old Englifh.

TODD.

To tread his sacred courts, and minister  
 About his altar, handling holy things,  
 Praying or vowing; and vouchsaf'd his voice 490  
 To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet  
 Inspir'd : disdain not such access to me.

To whom our Saviour, with unalter'd brow :  
 Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,  
 I bid not, or forbid ; do as thou find'st 495  
 Permission from above ; thou canst not more.

Ver. 488. *To tread his sacred courts,]* “ When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, *to tread my courts ?*” Isaiah, i. 12. DUNSTER.

Ver. 490. *Praying or vowing ;]* • Besides sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, the Jews had vow-sacrifices; (*Lev. vii. 16.*) oblations for vows, (*xxii. 18.*) and sacrifices in performing their vows (*Numbers, xv. 3. 8.*) DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— and vouchsaf'd his voice

*To Balaam reprobate,]* An argument more plausible and more fallacious could not have been put into the mouth of the Tempter. Perfectly to enter into all the circumstances of this remarkable piece of Scripture history, and clearly to apprehend the judicious application of it by the poet in this place, we may refer to bishop Butler's excellent Sermon on *the Character of Balaam*, or to Shuckford's account of it in the twelfth Book of his *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 494. *Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,]* Shakspeare, *Rich. II. A. 3. S. 3.*

“ His coming hither had no farther scope

“ Than for his lineal royalties.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 496. ——— thou canst not more.] So Gabriel replies to Satan, *Par. Lost, B. iv. 1006.*

“ Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine :

“ Neither our own, but given : What folly then

“ To boast what arms can do ? since thine no more

“ Than Heaven permits.” TODD.

He added not ; and Satan, bowing low  
 His gray diffimulation, disappear'd  
 Into thin air diffus'd : for now began  
 Night with her sullen wings to double-shade 500

Ver. 499. *Into thin air diffus'd :*] So Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 278.

“ Et procul in *tepuer* ex oculis *evanuit auram.*”

NEWTON.

And Shakspere, *Tempest*, A. 4. S. ii.

————— “ these our actors,

“ As I foretold you, were all spirits, and

“ Are melted into air, into thin air.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— for now began

*Night with her sullen wings to double-shade*

*The desert ; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd ;*

*And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.]*

This brief description of night coming on in the desert is singularly fine. It is a small but exquisite *sketch*, which so immediately shews the *hand of the master*, that his larger and more finished pieces can hardly be rated higher. The commencement of this description, both in respect of its beginning with an hemistich, and also in the sort of instantaneous coming on of night which it represents, resembles much a passage in Tasso, *Gier*, Lib. c. iii. st. 71.

“ Così dissi' egli ;—e già la Notte oscura

“ Havea tutti del giorno i raggi spenti.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 500. ————— *her sullen wings*] Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 369.

“ Nox ruit, et *fuscis* tellurem amplectitur *alis.*”

And Tasso describes Night covering the sky *with her wings*,  
*Gier*. Lib. c. viii. st. 57.

“ Sorgea la Notte in tanto, e sotto l' ali

“ Recopriva del Cielo i campi immensi.”

Compare Spenser also, *Faery Queen*, vi. viii. 44.

————— “ and now the Even-tide

“ His broad black wings had through the Heavens wide

“ By this dispread.”

And see *Allegro*, ver. 6. DUNSTER.



The desert; fowls in their clay nests were  
couch'd;

Ver. 500. ————— to double shade

*The desert* ;] 'i. e. to double the natural shade and darkness of the place. • This is more fully expressed in Hogæus's translation of this passage.

“ Nam nunc obscuras Nox atra expandere pennas

“ Cæperat, atque *nigras nemorum geminare tenebras.*”

Thus, in *Comus*, v. 335.

“ *In double night of darkness and of shades* ;”

In a note on which last verse, in Mr. Warton's edition of the *Juvenile Poems*, the following line of Pacuvius, cited by Cicero, (*De Divinat.* i. 14.) is exhibited ;

“ *Tenebræ conduplicantur, noctisque et nimborum occæcat nigror.*”

We may also compare Ovid, *Met.* xi. 548 ;

“ ————— tanta vertigine pontus

“ Fervet, et inductâ piceis a nubibus umbrâ

“ Omne latet cælum, *duplicatâque noctis imago est.*”

And see *ibid.* 521. DUNSTER.

But, as I have formerly observed in a note on the verse just cited by Mr. Dunster from *Comus*, the verb *double-shade* might have been suggested by a bold expression in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, edit. 1621, p. 1177.

“ *Double-nighted* in dark error.”

• Dryden perhaps had this passage of *Par. Regained* in view, when he penned the following lines in *Aureng-zebe*, A. v. S. i.

“ The *Night* seems *doubled* with the fear she brings, •

“ And, o'er the citadel, new-spreads her *wings.*”

• Milton's “ *double night* of darkness and of shades” has also afforded Young an opportunity of moral adaptation, *Night-Thought*, i. 43.

And now wild beasts came forth the woods to  
roam.

.“ Through this opaque of Nature and of Soul,  
“ *This double night.*” TODD.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE REGAINED.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*The Disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety : in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son.—Satan again meets his Infernal Council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our Blessed Lord, and calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the Heathen Gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to avail himself of the circumstance of our Lord's hungering ; and, taking a band of chosen Spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise.—Jesus hungers in the desert.—Night comes on ; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described.—Morning advances.—Satan again appears to Jesus, and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes.—Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power : This Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.*

# PARADISE REGAINED.

## BOOK II.

**MEAN** while the new-baptiz'd, who yet remain'd  
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen  
Him whom they heard so late expressly call'd

Ver. 1. *Mean while the new-baptiz'd, &c.*] The greatest, and indeed justest, objection to this Poem is the narrowness of its plan, which, being confined to that single scene of our Saviour's life on earth, his Temptation in the Desert, has too much sameness in it, too much of the reasoning, and too little of the descriptive part; a defect most certainly in an epick poem, which ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful. Milton was himself, no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciously contrived and introduced all the little digressions that could with any sort of propriety connect with his subject, in order to relieve and refresh the reader's attention. The following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the missing of our Saviour so long, with the Virgin's reflections on the same occasion, and the council of the Devils how best to attack their enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very happily executed in their respective ways. The language of the former is cool and unaffected, corresponding most exactly to the humble pious character of the speakers: that of the latter is full of energy and majesty, and not inferior to their most spirited speeches in the *Paradise Lost*. THYER.

Jefus Meffiah, Son of God declar'd,  
 And on that high authority had believ'd,      5  
 And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd; I  
     mean  
 Andrew and Simon, famous after known,

Ver. 4. *Jefus Meffiah, Son of God declar'd,*] This is a great mistake in the Poet. All that the people could collect from the declarations of John the Baptist, and the voice from Heaven, was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he was their promised Meffiah. WARBURTON.

But surely the declaration, *by the voice from Heaven*, of Jesus being *the beloved Son of God* was, as Milton terms it, "high authority" for believing that he was the MESSIAH.—John the Baptist had also, *John* i. 29, expressly called him "*the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*," referring, as is generally supposed, to *Isaiah*, liii. 7. And, the day following, John's giving him the same title, "*Behold the Lamb of God!*" (*John*, i. 36.) is the ground of Andrew's conversion, who thereupon followed Jesus, and having passed some time with him, declared to his brother Peter, "*We have found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, the Christ*," *John*, i. 41. DUNSTER.

Ver. 6. *And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd;*] These particulars are founded, (as Dr. Newton observes,) on what is related in the first chapter of St. John, respecting two of John's disciples, (one of whom was Andrew, and the other probably John the Evangelist himself, *following Jesus* to the place *where he dwelt*, and *abiding with him that day*. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— I mean

*Andrew and Simon,*] This sounds very prosaick; but I find a like instance or two in Harrington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, c. xxxi. st. 46.

"And calling still upon that noble name,  
 "That often had the Pagans overcome,  
 "(*I mean* Renaldo's house of Montalbano)."

With others though in Holy Writ not nam'd ;  
 Now missing him, their joy so lately found,  
 (So lately found, and so abruptly gone,) 10  
 Began to doubt, and doubted many days,  
 And, as the days encreas'd, encreas'd their doubt.  
 Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,  
 And for a time caught up to God, as once  
 Moses was in the mount and missing long, 15  
 And the great Thibite, who on fiery wheels

And again, ft. 55.

" How she had seen the bridge the Pagan made,  
 " (*I mean the cruel Pagan Rodomont*). " NEWTON.

The same form is used by Sylvester, *Du Bart.* edit. 1621, p. 20.

" *I mean that Chaos, that self-jarring mass.*"

See also *ib.* p. 182. DUNSTER.

Ver. 13. *Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,*] *Virg. Æn.* vi. 870.

" Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra

" *Esse finent.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 16. *And the great Thibite, who on fiery wheels  
 Rode up to Heaven,*] Elijah, snatched up into  
 heaven in a fiery chariot, was a favourite image in Milton's  
 early years, and perfectly coincided with his cast of genius.  
 Thus, in his *Ode on the Passion*, ft. VI.

" See, see the chariot, and those rushing wheels,

" That whirl'd the Prophet up at Chebar flood."

And *In Obit. Præful. Eliens*, ver. 49.

" Vates ut olim raptus ad cælum senex,

" *Auriga currus ignei.*"

And I think we may trace it more than once in the *Prose-Works*, either by comparison or allusion. The "*fiery-wheeled throne*," in *Il Penseroso*, has another origin. T. WARTON.

Mr. Dunster adds, from the Poet's *In Proditionem Bombardicam*, ver. 5.

Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come :

- “ Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria cæli,  
 “ Sulphureo curru, *flammivolisque* rotis :  
 “ Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,  
 “ Liquit Iordanios turbine *raptus* agros.”

Milton seems, in his descriptions of the prophet, to have had in mind Sylvester, *Du Bart.* edit. 1621. p. 72.

- “ Pure Spirit, that *rapt'st* above the firmest sphear,  
 “ In *fiery coach* thy faithful messenger, &c.”

See likewise the note *In Obit. Pras. El.* ver. 48. Or, as Mr. Dunster also remarks, Sylvester might have been a prompter in the following lines, *Du Bart.* p. 295.

- “ O, thou fair Chariot flaming brauely bright,  
 “ Which like a whirl-winde in thy swift career  
 “ *Rapt'st* vp the *Thebit*.”

Milton, in like manner, writes “ vates terræ *Thebitidis*,” *Eleg.* iv. 97. But Castalio likewise defends this orthography : “ Elias autem *Thebita* &c.” *Regum Lib.* iii. cap. 17. ed. Basil. 1573. Dr. Newton explains *Thibite* by adding, Or *Tishbite*, as Elijah is called in the English translation of the Bible; and that Elijah was a native of *Thibe*, or *Tishbe*, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan. Elijah is called “ the *Thebian* prophet,” in Sandys’s *Christ’s Passion*, ed. 1640, p. 51. TODD.

Ver. 17. ————— yet once again to come :] It hath been the opinion of the Church, that there would be an Elias before Christ’s second coming, as well as before his first: and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede supports from the prophecy of Malachi, iv. 5. “ Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, &c.” and from what our Saviour says, Matt. xvii. 11. “ Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.” These words our Saviour spake when John Baptist was beheaded, and yet speaks as of a thing future, ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, “ and shall restore all things.” But as it was not Elias in person, but only in spirit, who appeared before our Saviour’s first coming, so will it also be before his second. The reader may see the arguments at large, in Mr. Mede’s *Discourse* XXV. which no doubt Milton had read,



Therefore, as those young prophets then with care  
Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these  
Nigh to Bethabara, in Jericho

20

not only on account of the fame and excellence of the writer, but as he was also his fellow-collegian. NEWTON.

Though our Saviour used the word ἀποκαταστήσει in the future tense, something must be previously understood to limit the sense of it to what was then passed, to a prophecy already accomplished. Bishop Pearce in his commentary on the passage has, “*was to come first and restore all things.*” And Beza, in a note on the place, says, “*Hæc autem intelligenda sunt, forma dicendi e medio petita, perinde ac si diceret Christus, Verum quidem est quod Scribæ dicunt etiam videlicet antegressurum fuisse Messiam, et secuturæ instaurationi viam aperturum; sed dico vobis Eliam jam renisse, &c.*” It was however the general tradition of the elder writers of the Christian Church, from those words of Malachi, that Elias the Tishbite was to come in person before our Lord’s second advent; which opinion, the Jesuit De la Cerda, in his Commentary on *Tertullian De Resurrect. Carn.* C. 23. says, all the ancient Fathers have delivered, “*tradit tota Patrum antiquitas.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 20. *Nigh to Bethabara,*] It has been observed in a preceding note (B. i. ver. 193.) that M. D’Anville, in the map of Judea in his *Géographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. Adrichomius, in his *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, places Bethabara on the eastern bank of the river Jordan, at a small distance from the Dead Sea, nearly opposite Jericho. Indeed if we consider it to have been the place where the Israelites passed over Jordan to go into the land of Canaan, on which ever side of the river we place it, it must have been nearly opposite Jericho, as it is expressly said, *Joshua iii. 16. the people passed over right against Jericho.* The Eastern Travellers also show that the place, where the tradition of that country supposes Jesus to have been baptized by John in Jordan, was not more than a day’s journey distant from Jerusalem; and that Jericho lay directly in the way to it. (See Pocock’s *Travels in the East*, and Maundrel’s *Journal*.) Bishop Pearce places Bethabara on the same side of the river with Jericho, that is, on

## The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,

the western bank. This opinion he grounds on what is said, *Judges*, vii. 24. about the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim *taking the waters*, (i. e. taking possession of all the springs,) from them *unto Bethabarah and Jordan*. Bethabara indeed (*John*, i. 28,) is described *beyond Jordan*, *πέραν τῆ Ἰορδάνου*; but this Bishop Pearce reconciles by shewing that *πέραν* often signifies in Scripture, *on the side of*, or *on this side of*. For this construction of *πέραν*, he cites many authorities in his note on *Matt.* iv. 15, and likewise refers to Casaubon's note on *John*, i. 28. But it should be observed that Beza has the same remark, and that he renders *πέραν τῆ Ἰορδάνου* not *trans Jordanum*, but *secus Jordanum*, "nigh to Jordan," both in *Matt.* iv. 15, and *John*, i. 28. St. Jerom, *De Nominibus Hebræis*, speaks of Bethabara as standing partly on the western, and partly on the eastern, bank of the river Jordan.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 21. *The city of palms, &c.*] Jericho is called *the city of palms*, *Deut.* xxxiv. 3. And Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all writers describe it as abounding with those trees. Ænon is mentioned, *John*, iii. 23, as is likewise *Salim* or *Salem*. But there appears to be no particular reason for our author's calling it *Salem old*, unless he takes it to be the same with the *Shalem* mentioned, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18. or confounds it with the *Salem* where Melchizedek was king. *Machærus* was a castle in the mountainous part of *Peræa* or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run through the lake of *Genesareth*, or the sea of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, as it is otherwise called. So that they searched in each place *on this side* Jordan, or in *Peræa*, *πέραν Ἰορδάνου*, *beyond it*. NEWTON.

By the expression *on this side the broad lake Genesareth*, I would understand not *on the opposite side of the river to Peræa*, but *below the lake of Genesareth*, or *to the south of it*, between that and the Asphaltick Lake, or the Dead Sea; which is exactly the situation of the places here mentioned, none of which could be properly said to have stood *on this side*, that is on the western side of the lake of Genesareth, though three of them stood on the western side of the river Jordan. Or in *Peræa*, may be only understood to mean *and in Peræa*, or *even in Peræa*. Such is

Machærus, and each town or city wall'd  
 On this side the broad lake Genezaret,  
 Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.  
 Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek, 25

often the conjunctive sense of *vel*, and sometimes of *aut* in Latin, and of  $\eta$  in Greek. It is probable that Milton had the same idea of the situation of Bethabara, with that noticed in the preceding note, as admitted by bishop Pearce, and before suggested by Beza and Casaubon. This he may be supposed to have acquired from Beza, whose translation of the Greek Testament with notes, we may imagine, was in no small degree of repute, at the time when our author visited Geneva. Accordingly the first place where he makes the disciples seek Jesus is Jericho, on the same side of the river as Bethabara, and the nearest place of any consequence to it; then Ænon and Salem, both likewise on the same side, but higher up towards the lake of Genezareth; then he seems to make them cross the river and seek him in all the places in the opposite country of Peræa, down to the town and strong fortress of Machærus, which is mentioned by Josephus, *De bello Jud.* l. 7. c. 6. Milton had good authority for terming Salem, *Salem old*. St. Jerom shews, that the Salem, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18. was not Jerusalem, “sed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem; ubi ostenditur palatium Melchizedec, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam.” See *Hieronym. Epist.* cxxvi. *ad Evag.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 25. — on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,

*Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,]*

Mr. Dunster observes, that Maundrell, in his *Journey to Jerusalem*, &c. describes the river Jordan as having its banks in some parts covered so thick with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks, oleanders, and willows, that they prevented the water from being seen till any one had made his way through them. In this thicket, he says, several sorts of wild beasts harbour, which are frequently washed out of their covert by the sudden over-flowings of the river. Hence that allusion in *Jeremiah*, xlix. 19. “Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan.” The same critick also notices the refer-

Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering  
play,

ence made to the reedy banks of Jordan, in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death*, ft. 2.

“ Or *whistling reeds* that ruddy Jordan laves.”

Milton, by the distinction which he here makes, had perhaps noticed Sandys's account of Jordan, in his *Travels*; who says, “ Passing along, it maketh *two lakes*; *the one* in the Vpper Galilee, named Samachonitis (now Houle), in the summer for the most part dry, *ouergrown with shrubs and reeds*, which afford a shelter for bores and leopards. *The other* in the Inferior, called the Sea of Galilee, *the lake of Genezareth*, and of Tyberias, &c.” p. 141. edit. 1615. TODD.

Ver. 26. ————— whispering play,] The *whispering* of the wind is an image that Milton is particularly fond of, and has introduced in many beautiful passages of his *Paradise Lost*. Thus, in the opening of the fifth Book, where Adam wakens Eve;

————— “ then with voice  
“ Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,  
“ Her hand soft touching, *whisper'd* thus.”

He also applies *whispering* to the flowing of a stream; to the air that plays upon the water, or by the side of it; and to the combined sounds of the breeze and the current. In the fourth Book of this Poem, he terms the river Ilyffus, a “ *whispering stream*.” And in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 325, he describes

————— “ a tuft of shade that on a green  
“ Stood *whispering soft*, by a *fresh fountain side*.”

In his *Lycidas*, ver. 136. likewise, he addresses the

————— “ valleys low, where the *mild whispers use*  
“ *Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks*.”

See also *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 158, viii. 516. “ The *mild whisper* of the refreshing breeze” he had before introduced in his Latin poem, *In Adventum Veris*, ver. 27. which might have been originally suggested to him by Virgil's *Culex*, v. 152.

Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)  
 Close in a cottage low together got,  
 Their unexpected loss and complaints out breath'd.

Alas, from what high hope to what relapse 30  
 Unlook'd for are we fallen! our eyes beheld  
 Messiah certainly now come, so long

“ At circa passim fessæ cubuere capellæ,  
 “ Excelsisque super dumis; quos leniter afflans  
 “ *Aura susurrantis posuit confundere venti.*” DUNSTER.

A very pleasing passage may be here adduced from our ancient poetry, with which also we may compare the opening of the fifth Book of Paradise Lost, *The Whipping of the Satyre* by W. J. 12mo. 1601.

“ There breath'd the spirit of sweete *Zephyrus*  
 “ Among the leaues whispring with stillst voyce,  
 “ And cristall springs through siluer pipes did gush,  
 “ Inuiting sleepe with gentle muttering noyse:  
 “ There sweetly warbled Nature's feather'd quires,  
 “ Embow'd with shady bough-combynding briers.”

Compare Milton's *L'Allegro* also, ver. 116. where see the note. But, after all, we may rather apply, to the passage before us, the more ancient strains which were familiar to Milton. See *Orph. Argonaut.* ver. 1131.

———— παταγεῖ δὲ παρ' ὄχθαισιν ποταμοῖο  
 Δένδρεα τηλεθάοντα ποτὶ σχεδὸν. TODD.

Ver. 27. Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)] Thus Spenser, in the beginning of his *Shepherd's Calendar*,

“ A shepherd's boy, (no better do him call).”

NEWTON.

Ver. 30. *Alas, from what high hope &c.*] So we read in the first edition: In most of the others it is absurdly printed “Alas, from *that* high hope.” The sentiment is from Ter. *Heaut.* A. ii. S. ii.

—— “væ misero mihi, quanta de spe decidi!”

NEWTON.

Expected of our fathers ; we have heard  
 His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth ;  
 Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand, 35  
 The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd ;  
 Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd  
 Into perplexity and new amaze :  
 For whither is he gone, what accident  
 Hath rapt him from us ? will he now retire 40  
 After appearance, and again prolong  
 Our expectation ? God of Israël,  
 Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come !  
 Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress  
 Thy chosen ; to what highth their power unjust 45

Ver. 34. ————— *full of grace and truth ;*] “ And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, *full of grace and truth.*” John, i. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 40. *Hath rapt him from us ?*] *Hath snatch'd him away from us.* See the note on ver. 16, and also Mr. Warton's note on *Il Pens.* ver. 40. Milton is here pronounced, by Mr. Gilb. Wakefield, guilty of an errour, in having written, as he says, *wrapt*. See Wakefield's *Pope*, 8vo. 1794, vol. i. p. 53. But Mr. Wakefield unjustly accuses the great poet. For Milton's own edition reads *rapt*. TODD.

Ver. 42. ————— *God of Israel,*  
*Send thy Messiah forth, &c.]* This sudden turn and breaking forth into prayer to God is beautiful. The prayer itself is conceived very much in the spirit of the Psalms, and almost in the words of some of them. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. *Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress Thy chosen ;*] “ The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed.” *Psalms* ii. 2. It is probable, that an allusion is here intended to the situation of Milton's Party at the Restoration. DUNSTER.

They have exalted, and behind them cast  
 All fear of thee ; arise, and vindicate  
 Thy glory ; free thy people from their yoke !  
 But let us wait ; thus far he hath perform'd,  
 Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him, 50  
 By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown  
 In publick, and with him we have convers'd ;  
 Let us be glad of this, and all our fears  
 Lay on his Providence ; he will not fail,  
 Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall, 55  
 Mock us with his blest fight, then snatch him  
 hence ;

Soon we shall see our Hope, our Joy, return.

Thus they, out of their complaints, new hope  
 resume

To find whom at the first they found unfought :  
 But, to his mother Mary, when she saw 60  
 Others return'd from Baptism, not her son,  
 Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,

Ver. 46. ————— and behind them cast

*All fear of thee ;]* “ Nevertheless they were disobedient and rebelled against thee, and *cast thy law behind their backs.*” Nehemiah, ix. 26. DUNSTER.

Ver. 51. ————— pointed at and shown] Should it not rather be “ pointed out ?” Though perhaps Milton had in his mind Persius, *Sat.* i. 28. “ *Digito monstrari, et dicier hic est.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 60. *But, to his mother &c.]* Mr. Calton very ingeniously proposed to read, “ But, O his mother Mary, &c.” as the common reading makes an embarrassed sentence.

JOS. WARTON.

Within her breast though calm, her breast though  
 pure,  
 Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd  
 Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus  
 clad. 65

O, what avails me now that honour high

Ver. 65. *Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.*] It is hardly possible not to notice the striking beauty of this line. There is a passage somewhat resembling it in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 620. "*Words, interwove with sighs, found out their way.*" In *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 17, the prayers of our first parents are "*clad with incense.*" Compare Cicero: "*Sententias reconditas exquisitâsque mollis et pellucens resiebat oratio.*" *De Clar. Orator.* 274. ed. Proust. DUNSTER.

Sandys, in his Paraphrase of the 77th Psalm, thus forcibly describes the effort of affliction, edit. 1536. p. 124.

" Words faille my grieffe ; *sighes* only *spake*,  
 " Which from my panting bosome brake." TODD.

Ver. 66. *O, what avails me now that honour high &c.*] In several parts of this speech Milton appears to have had Vida in his mind. In this opening of it, at verse 77, and from verse 87 to 92, we plainly trace him to Mary's lamentation under the Cross, *Christ*, v. 870.

" At non certe olim præpes demissus Olympo  
 " Nuntius hæc pavidæ dederat promissa puellæ.  
 " Sic una ante alias felix ego, sic ego cali  
 " Incedo regina? mea est hæc gloria magna,  
 " Hic meus altus honos. Quo reges munera opima  
 " Obtulerunt mihi post partus? Quo carmina læta  
 " Cælestes cecinere chori, si me ista manebat  
 " Sors tamen, et vitam, cladem hanc visura, trahebam?  
 " Felices illæ, natos quibus impius hausit  
 " Infantes regis furor ipso in limine vitæ,  
 " Dum tibi vana timens funus molitur acerbum:  
 " Ut cuperem te diluvio cecidisse sub illo!



To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute,  
 " Hail, highly favour'd, among women blest !"  
 While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,  
 And fears as eminent, above the lot 70  
 Of other women, by the birth I bore ;  
 In such a season born, when scarce a shed  
 Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me  
 From the bleak air ; a stable was our warmth,  
 A manger his ; yet soon enforc'd to fly 75  
 Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king  
 Were dead, who fought his life, and missing fill'd  
 With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem ;  
 From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth

" Hos, hos horribili monitu trepidantia corda

" Terrificans senior luctus sperare jubebat,

" Et cecinit fore, cum pectus mihi figeret ensis :

" Nunc altè mucro, nunc altè vulnus adauctum."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 75. ——— yet soon enforc'd to fly &c.] We may compare the following stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory in Heaven*.

" And yet but newly he was infanted,

" And yet already he was fought to die ;

" Yet scarcely born, already banished,

" Not able yet to go, and forc'd to fly ;

" But scarcely fled away, when by and by

" The Tyrant's sword with blood is all defil'd, &c."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 79. ——— in Nazareth

*Hath been our dwelling many years ;*] She mentions this as part of their distress, because the country of Galilee, whereof Nazareth was a city, was the most despised part of Palestine, despised by the Jews themselves : and therefore Na-

Hath been our dwelling many years; his life 80  
 Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,  
 Little suspicious to any king; but now,  
 Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,  
 By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,  
 Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice, 85  
 I look'd for some great change; to honour? no;  
 But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,  
 That to the fall and rising he should be  
 Of many in Israël, and to a sign  
 Spoken against, that through my very soul 90  
 A sword shall pierce: 'This is my favour'd lot,

thaniel asketh Philip, *John* i. 46. "*Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?*" NEWTON.

. This passage does not strike me exactly in the same light as it does Dr. Newton. All this description of the early private life of our Saviour seems rather designed to contrast and to give more effect to the expectations of Mary, where she says,

—————" but now  
 " Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,  
 " By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,  
 " Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,  
 " I look'd for some great change." DUNSTER.

Ver. 80. ————— *his life*  
*Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,*  
*Little suspicious to any king;]* Very possibly not  
 without an intended reference to Milton's own way of life after  
 the Restoration. DUNSTER.

Ver. 88. *That to the fall and rising he should be*  
*Of many in Israël, &c.]* See St. Luke, ii. 34, 35.  
 DUNSTER.

Ver. 91. ————— *This is my favour'd lot, &c.]* These  
 are the afflictions that Mary notices; not the circumstances of

My exaltation to afflictions high ;  
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest ;  
 I will not argue that, nor will repine.  
 But where delays he now ? some great intent 95  
 Conceals him : When twelve years he scarce had  
     seen,  
 I lost him, but so found, as well I saw  
 He could not lose himself, but went about  
 His Father's business ; what he meant I mus'd,

dwelling in a disreputable place, but her anxiety about her son, and what she then suffered, and was still to suffer, upon his account. DUNSTER.

Ver. 93. *Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest ;*

*I will not argue that, nor will repine.*

*But where delays he now ? some great intent*

*Conceals him :]* How charmingly does Milton here

verify the character he had before given of the blessed Virgin in the lines above !

“ Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,

“ Motherly cares and fears got head.”

We see at one view the piety of the faint, and the tenderness of the mother ; and I think nothing can be conceived more beautiful and moving than the sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now ?* breaking in so abruptly upon the composed resignation expressed in the two preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resigned character again in these words — *some great intent conceals him.* THYER.

Ver. 98. *He could not lose himself,]* A conceit and jingle unworthy of our author. JOS. WARTON.

Ibid. ————— *but went about*

*His Father's business ;]* “ And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me ? Wist ye not that I must be *about my Father's business ?*” Luke, ii. 49. DUNSTER.

Since understand ; much more his absence now 100  
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.

But I to wait with patience am inur'd ;  
My heart hath been a store-house long of things  
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind 105  
Recalling what remarkably had pass'd  
Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts  
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling :  
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,  
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed, 110  
Into himself descended, and at once  
All his great work to come before him set ;  
How to begin, how to accomplish best

Ver. 103. *My heart hath been a store-house long of things  
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.*] Alluding to what is said of her, *Luke, ii. 19.* “ *But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart.*” and see also ver. 51. So consistent is the part that she acts here with her character in Scripture. NEWTON.

Ver. 107. ————— *with thoughts  
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling :*] This is beautifully expressed.—There is a passage somewhat similar, in *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 596, where Michael, having concluded what he had to show Adam from the mountain, and what he had further to inform him of in narration there, says they must now descend from this “ top of speculation ;” and, bidding Adam *go waken Eve*, adds

“ Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd  
“ Portending good, and *all her spirits compos'd*  
“ *To meek submission.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 111. *Into himself descended,*] *Perf. Sat. iv. 23.*  
“ *Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere !*” NEWTON.

His end of being on earth, and mission high :  
 For Satan, with sly preface to return, 115  
 Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone  
 Up to the middle region of thick air,  
 Where all his potentates in council sat ;  
 There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,  
 Solicitous and blank, he thus began. 120

Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal  
 Thrones ;

Demonian Spirits now, from the element  
 Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd  
 Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath !

Ver. 119. *There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,*] In contrast to the boasting manner in which Satan had related his success against Man, on his return to Pandæmonium, *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 460. DUNSTER.

Ver. 122. *Demonian Spirits now, from the element*

*Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd*

*Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath !]* It

was a notion among the Ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were Demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul : εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δαίμονες, ἐς καὶ καλοῖν ἂν τις γεννήτης θεός, καθ' ἑκάστων τῶν στοιχείων, οἱ μὲν ὁράτοι, οἱ δὲ ἀοράτοι, ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι, καὶ πυρὶ, ἀέρι τε, καὶ ὕδατι, ὥς μηδὲν κοσμοῦ μέγ' ψυχῆς ἄμοιρον εἶναι, as Alcinous in his summary of the Platonick doctrines says, cap. 5.—Michael Pfellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed some of his notions of Spirits, speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses : πολλὰ δαιμόνων γένη, καὶ παντοδαπὰ τὰς ἰδέας καὶ τὰ σώματα· ὥς εἶναι πλήρη μὲν τὸν αἶρα, τὸν τε ὑπερθεὶν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν περὶ ἡμᾶς· πλήρη δὲ γαῖαν καὶ θαλάτταν, καὶ τῆς μυχαίτατες καὶ βύθους [βύθους] τότε,

(So may we hold our place and these mild seats  
 Without new trouble,) such an enemy 126  
 Is 'risen to invade us, who no less  
 Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell;  
 I, as I undertook, and with the vote  
 Consenting in full frequency was impower'd, 130  
 Have found him, view'd him, tasted him; but  
 find

p. 41; and he divides them into six kinds, the fiery, the aery, the earthy, the watery, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous, p. 45. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the Demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them; as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth. NEWTON.

See the notes on *Il Pens.* ver. 93, *Par. Lost*, B. i. 423, B. ii. 90, and B. vi. 344. TODD.

Ver. 130. ——— in full frequency] Milton, in his *History of England*, has said, "The assembly was full and frequent:" and in *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 797, the council of Devils was frequent and full. Here the adjective is formed into a substantive, as in B. i. 128: and Shakspeare uses it in the same manner, *Timon*, A. v. S. iii.

"Tell Athens, in the frequency of degree,

"From high to low throughout." NEWTON.

Ver. 131. ——— tasted him;] This is a Græcism. *ἴσχωμαι* signifies not only *gusto*, but likewise *experior*, *periculum facio*. DUNSTER.

*Taste* is common enough in English for *experience*, *make trial of*, &c. Thus, in Milton's *Tenure of Kings*, &c. "Those that have miserably *tasted* the event." And in *Samf. Agon.* ver. 1091. "The way to know were not to see but *taste*." In the old English translation of Boccacio's *Decameron*, a physician, visiting his patient, is introduced in these words: "He began to *taste* his pulse," fol. 1620, part 2d. p. 115. TODD.

Far other labour to be undergone  
 Than when I dealt with Adam, first of Men,  
 Though Adam by his wife's allurements fell,  
 However to this Man inferiour far ; 135  
 If he be Man by mother's side, at least

Ver. 135. *However to this Man inferiour far ;  
 If he be Man by mother's side, at least  
 With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,  
 Perfections absolute, &c. &c.]* I have ventured  
 here to correct the punctuation. The passage in the first edi-  
 tions, and in Dr. Newton's, stands pointed thus :

“ However to this Man inferiour far,  
 “ If he be Man by Mother's side at least,  
 “ With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd, &c.”

On this Mr. Calton observes : “ The Tempter had no doubt  
 of Christ's being *a Man by the mother's side* ; but the want of a  
 comma in its due place after *If he be Man*, hath puzzled both  
 the sense and the construction. *He is* must be understood at the  
 end of the verse, to support the syntax ;

“ If he be Man, by mother's side at least (*he is*)”

Dr. Newton has however preserved the pointing of Milton's  
 own edition, because some, he says, may choose to join the whole  
 together, and understand it thus : “ Satan had heard Jesus de-  
 clared from Heaven, and knew him to be the Son of God ; and  
 now, after the trial he had made of him, he questions if he be  
 Man *even* by the mother's side,”

“ If he be Man by mother's side at least,”

He further observes, that it is the purport of Satan, in this  
 speech, not to say any thing to the evil spirits that may lessen,  
 but every thing that may raise, their idea of his antagonist. It  
 seems to me, that there can be no doubt respecting this passage.  
 Dr. Newton certainly sees it in its true light : but I conceive his  
 sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional  
 beauty, and the whole of the sentence is rendered more clear  
 and perfect, by the punctuation which I have adopted ; and  
 which I think most probably to have been intended by Milton.

DUNSTER.

With more than human gifts from Heaven  
adorn'd,

Perfections absolute, graces divine,  
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.  
Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence 140  
Of my success with Eve in Paradise  
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure  
Of like succeeding here: I summon all  
Rather to be in readiness, with hand  
Or counsel to assist; lest I, who erst 145

Ver. 137. *With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,*

*Perfections absolute, graces divine,*

*And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.]* Many

lines of the *Paradise Regained* have been censured as harsh and inharmonious; but even of these the greater part may be vindicated, (as it has been done in some instances by Mr. Thyer,) by showing that they are very far from being of that kind *quas incuria fudit*; and that many of them are peculiarly expressive, and were purposely designed as such by the poet.—The three lines above cited seem however secure from every possibility of disapprobation. They are so eminently beautiful, that they must strike every ear that is not quite devoid of feeling and of taste.—Mr. Thyer particularly notices the fine effect of the last line, and the dignity and significancy of the expression *amplitude of mind*; which he also supposes might have been suggested by the following passage in Tully's *Tusc. Disput.* ii. 25. “Hoc igitur tibi propone, *amplitudinem et quasi quandam exaggerationem quam altissimam animi*, quæ maxime eminet contemnendis et despiciendis doloribus, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam.”

DUNSTER.

Heywood, in his *Funerall Elegie upon K. James I*, 1625, uses *amplitude* in Milton's sense:

“He that the Romans with the Greeks compar'd,  
“And punctually their *amplitudes* declar'd,  
“Of such as were in virtues antecelling.” TODD.



Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.

So spake the old Serpent, doubting ; and from  
all

With clamour was assured their utmost aid

At his command : when from amidst them rose

Belial, the dissoluteſt Spirit that fell, 150

The ſensualleſt, and, after Aſmodai,

The fleſhlieſt Incubus ; and thus advis'd.

Set women in his eye, and in his walk,

Ver. 150. *Belial, the diſſoluteſt Spirit that fell,*

*The ſensualleſt, and, after Aſmodai,*

*The fleſhlieſt Incubus ;]* I have heard theſe three

lines objected to as harſh and inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true they do not run very ſmoothly off the tongue, but then they are with much better judgement ſo contrived, that the reader is obliged to lay a particular emphasis, and to dwell for ſome time upon the word in each verſe, which moſt ſtrongly expreſſes the character deſcribed, viz. *diſſoluteſt, ſensualleſt, fleſhlieſt*. This has a very good effect by impreſſing the idea more ſtrongly upon the mind, and contributes even in ſome meaſure to increaſe our averſion to the odious character of Belial, by giving an air of deteſtation to the very tone of voice with which theſe verſes muſt neceſſarily be read. THYER.

Ver. 151. ———— *after Aſmodai,*

*The fleſhlieſt Incubus ;]* The character of Belial in

the *Paradiſe Loſt*, and the part he ſuſtains there, ſufficiently ſhow how properly he is introduced upon the preſent occaſion. He is here ſaid to be the *ſleſhlieſt Incubus after Aſmodai* ; or *Aſmadai*, as it is written, *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. vi. 365 ; or *Aſmodeus*, B. iv. 168, the luſtful Angel who loved Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and deſtroyed her ſeven huſbands, as we read in the book of Tobit. NEWTON.

Ver. 153. *Set women in his eye, &c.]* As this temptation is not mentioned in the Gospels, it could not with any propriety

Among daughters of men the fairest found :  
 Many are in each region passing fair 155  
 As the noon sky ; more like to Goddeſſes  
 Than mortal creatures ; graceful and diſcreet ;

have been propoſed to our Saviour ; it is much more fitly made the ſubject of debate among the wicked Spirits themſelves. All that can be ſaid in praiſe of the power of beauty, and all that can be alleged to depreciate it, is here ſummed up with greater force and elegance, than I ever remember to have ſeen in any other author. NEWTON.

This temptation is ſomething in the ſtyle of Taſſo, where Satan ſuggeſts to Hedroart ſending Armida to tempt and corrupt Godfrey, *Gier. Lib. C. iv.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 155. *Many are in each region &c.*] Milton, with all his philoſophical compoſure, appears to have been no ſtranger to the ſtrong perceptions of the paſſion of love. In his firſt Elegy he ſpeaks feelingly of the power of beauty, ver. 53.

“ Ah ! quoties dignæ ſtupui miracula formæ, &c.”

In the ſeventh Elegy, written at the age of nineteen, he mentions the firſt time of his falling in love. He met an unknown fair on ſome publick walks, in or about London ; was ſuddenly and violently captivated, but had no opportunity of declaring his affection and gaining her acquaintance. He in vain ardently wiſhes to ſee her again, and flatters his imagination that her heart is not made of adamant. Five of his Italian Sonnets, and his Canzone, are amatorial ; and were perhaps inſpired by Leonora, [Baroni,] a young lady whom he had heard ſing at Rome, and whom he celebrates in three Latin Epigrams. But theſe were among the vanities of his youth. Yet at a much later and cooler period, when he wrote the preſent poem, we find him deeply impreſſed with at leaſt a remembrance of the various and irrefiſtible allurements of beauty. Theſe exquisite lines, ver. 155 to ver. 169, were written by no Stoick. It is certain, that no poet has given more graceful and attractive images of beauty than Milton in his various portraits of Eve, each in a new aſpect and attitude. T. WARTON.

Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues  
 Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild  
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach; 160  
 Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw  
 Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.  
 Such object hath the power to soften and tame

Ver. 159. ———— *virgin majesty with mild  
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,*] Possibly suggested by Claudian, *Conf. Prob. et Ol.* 91.

“ *Miscetur decori virtus, pulchérque severo  
 Armatur terrore pudor.*”

See also *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 489, &c. DUNSTER.

Perhaps Milton remembered the description of beauty in *Solomon's Song*, Ch. vi. 4. “Thou art beautiful, O my Love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners.” TODD.

Ver. 161. *Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw  
 Hearts after them*] In the same manner Milton, in his description of Eve, *Paradise Lost*. B. viii. 504.

“ Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,  
 “ *The more desirable.*” THYER.

Ver. 162. ———— *tangled in amorous nets.*] Milton, in his first *Elegy*, ver. 60, speaks of the “*Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit amor,*” as Mr. Dunster observes.

See also *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 585. And compare Spenser, *Sonnet xxxvii.* I may add part of Greene's Roundelay, in his *Never too late*, 1616, p. i<sup>st</sup>. bl. l.

——— “ to gaze upon the gorgeous sight,  
 “ That *Beautie*, pompous in her highest prime,  
 “ Presents to *tangle* men with sweete delight.”

But Milton's phrase, the *amorous net*, is literally from Ariosto. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 582. And here also the Italian poetry was in Milton's mind: Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. iv. st. 87.*

“ *Vsa ogn' arte la Donna, onde sia colto  
 “ Ne la sue rete alcun nouello amante.*” TODD.

Severest temper, smoothe the rugged't brow,  
 Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve, 165  
 Draw out with credulous desire, and lead  
 At will the manliest, resolute'st breast,  
 As the magnetick hardest iron draws.

Ver. 164. ——— smooth *the* rugged't brow,] Thus in the *Penferoso*, 58.

“ *Smoothing the rugged brow of Night.*” DUNSTER.

Milton adopted these expressions from Spenser's Sonnet to Sir Christopher Hatton, prefixed to the *Faerie Queene* :

“ So you, great Lord, that with your counsell sway

“ The burdein of this kingdom mightily,

“ With like delightes sometimes may eke *delay*

“ The *rugged brow* of carefull Policy :”

Where *delay* means *smooth*, as elsewhere in Spenser. Compare also Randolph, *Poems*, edit. 1640, p. 50.

————— “ *smoothing the brow,*

“ And making that look amorous, which but now

“ Stood *wrinkled with his anger.*” TODD.

Ver. 166. *Draw out with credulous desire,*] This beautiful expression was formed partly upon Horace's, *Od.* IV. i. 30.

————— “ *spes animi credula mutui.*”

And partly, as Mr. Thyer thinks, from a passage in the *Andria* of Terence, A. iv. S. i.

——— “ non tibi fatis esse hoc visum solidum est gaudium,

“ Nisi me lactasses amantem, et falsâ spe *produceres* ?”

NEWTON.

*Credulous* might have been suggested by an Ode of Horace, which Milton himself has translated.

“ Qui nunc te fruitur *credulus* aurê,

“ Qui semper vacuum, &c.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 168. *As the magnetick &c.*] It should be the *magnet*, or *magnetick stone*. But Milton often converts the adjective, and uses it as the substantive. NEWTON.

Lucian hath this simile in his *Imagines*, vol. ii. p. 2. Ed. Græv.

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart  
 Of wisest Solomon, and made him build, 170  
 And made him bow, to the Gods of his wives.

"But if the fair one once look upon you, what is it that can get you from her? She will draw you after her at pleasure, bound hand and foot, *just as the loadstone draws iron.*" We may observe that Milton, by restraining the comparison to the power of beauty over the wisest men and the most stoical tempers, hath given it a propriety which is lost in a more general application.

CALTON.

Claudian, having very poetically described the powers of the magnet, concludes his *Idyllium* in a manner that possibly might have suggested to Milton some of the preceding lines.

- "Quæ duras jungit concordia mentes?  
 "Flagrat anhela filex, et amicam faucibus fentit  
 "Materiem, placidòsque Chalybs cognoscit amores.  
 "Sic *Venus horrificum belli compescere regem,*  
 "Et vultu mollire solet, cum sanguine præcep  
 "Æstuat, et strictis mucronibus asperat iras.  
 "Sola feris occurrit equis, solvitque tumorem  
 "Pectoris, et blando præcordia temperat igni.  
 "Pax animo tranquilla datur, pugnâsque calentes  
 "Deferit, et rutilas declinat in oscula cristas.  
 "Quæ tibi, sæve puer, non est permissa potestas?  
 "Tu magnum superas fulmen, &c." DUNSTER.

I may refer to the poetry of our own country also. See *The Teares of Love*, by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 29. A lady is the speaker:

- "For as the adamant doth diamonds drawe,  
 "Or little jeat extracts the longest strawe:  
 "Euen so my beauty binds him to obey,  
 "To seek, to sue, and serue me euery way."

The same simile is well applied by Browne, *Brit. Past.* 1616, B. i. S. i.

- "The adamant and beauty we discour  
 "To be alike; for beauty draws a lover,  
 "The adamant his iron." TODD.

To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.  
 Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st  
 All others by thyself; because of old 174  
 Thou thyself doat'dst on womankind, admiring  
 Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,  
 None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.  
 Before the Flood thou with thy lusty crew,  
 False titled sons of God, roaming the earth  
 Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, 180  
 And coupled with them, and begot a race.  
 Have we not seen, or by relation heard,

Ver. 178. *Before the Flood thou with thy lusty crew,  
 False titled sons of God, &c.*] It is to be lamented  
 that our author has so often adopted the vulgar notion of the  
 Angels having commerce with women, founded upon that mis-  
 taken text of Scripture, *Gen. vi. 2.* “*The sons of God saw the  
 daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of  
 all which they chose.*” See *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 463, 447. But  
 though he seems to favour that opinion, as we may suppose, to  
 embellish his poetry, yet he shows elsewhere that he understood  
 the text rightly, of the sons of Seth, who were the worshippers  
 of the true God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked  
 Cain, *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 621, 625. NEWTON.

Ver. 180. *Cast wanton eyes &c.*] Compare Hakewill's *Apo-  
 logy of the Power and Providence of God*, edit. 1630, p. 365.  
 “*Then shall you haue them cast their wanton eyes vpon mens  
 wiues, &c.*” And see the note on ver. 353. TODD.

Ver. 182. *Have we not seen, or by relation heard,*] This  
 passage is censured by Dr. Warburton, as suiting only the Poet  
 speaking in his own person; but surely there is no impropriety  
 in the Arch-Fiend's being well acquainted with the fables of the  
 Heathen Mythology, and the amours and adventures of their  
 Gods, or, (according to Milton's system,) his own infernal Com-  
 peers.—If we censure this passage, we must still more decisively  
 condemn one in the fourth Book; where, in answer to Satan's

In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,  
 In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,  
 In valley or green meadow, to way-lay 185  
 Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,  
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,  
 Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more

speech, describing, while he shows it, the splendour of Imperial Rome, our Lord, taking up the subject, carries on the description to the luxurious way of living among the Romans of that time, with this verse in a parenthesis,

“ For I have also *heard*, perhaps *have read*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 184. *In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,  
 In valley or green meadow,*] Thus, in Shakspeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Puck, speaking of Oberon and Titania, says

“ And now they never meet *in grove, or green,*

“ *By fountain clear, &c.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 185. ————— *to way-lay  
 Some beauty rare, &c.*] So, in the beautiful Canzone of Lorenzo de' Medici, entitled *Trionfo di Bacco e Arianno*:

“ *Questi scaltri Satiretti*

“ *Delle Ninfe innamorati*

“ *Per caverne, e per boschetti,*

“ *Han lor posto cento aguati.*” TODD.

Ver. 186. ————— *Calisto, Clymene,  
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,  
 Or Amymone, Syrinx,*] All these mistresses of the Gods might have been furnished from Ovid, our Author's favourite Latin Poet. DUNSTER.

Ver. 188. ————— *many more  
 Too long,*] A concise way of speaking for *many more too long to mention*. The author had used it before. *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 473. Indeed more would have been *too long*, and it would have been better if he had ~~not enumerated~~ so many of the loves of the Gods. These things are known to every school-

Too long ; then lay't thy scapes on names ador'd,

boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem : and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry. NEWTON.

Poetry, as strictly discriminated from Prose, may be defined *elevated and ornamented language*. Among the most allowed modes of elevating and decorating language, independent of metrical arrangement, mythological references and allusions and classical imitations hold a principal place. A poet precluded from these would be miserably circumscribed, and might with equal or better effect relate the fable which he imagines, the historick facts which he records, or the precepts which he lays down, in that species of language which asks no ornaments but purity and perspicuity. A *divine* poem certainly requires to be written in the chastest style, and to be kept perfectly free from the glare of false ornament : but it must still be considered that the great reason of exhibiting any serious truths, and especially the more interesting facts of religious history, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention. Poetry, to please, must continue to be pleasing. In the beauty and propriety of his references and allusions, the Poet shews the perfection of his taste and judgement, as much as in any other circumstance whatever : and Milton has eminently distinguished himself in this respect. How beautifully has he sprinkled his *Paradise Lost* with the flowers of *Classick Poetry*, and the fictions of Greek and Roman Mythology ! And he has done this with so judicious a hand, with a spirit so reverent, that the most religiously delicate ear can not but be captivated with it.—I confess my surprise that Dr. Newton does not see the passage before us in this light. It appears to me not only in the highest degree justifiable, but absolutely as one of those *loci laudandi* which the best criticks ever delight to exhibit from the works of the more eminent poets. Milton here admirably avails himself of the fabulous amours of the Heathen Deities. He transfers them to the fallen Angels, to Belial and “ his lusty crew ;” and, by the judicious application of these disgraceful tales, he gives them a propriety which they never before possessed. He furnishes even “ the school-boy” with a moral to the fable which he has been reading, and recalls to maturer minds the



Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,  
Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts  
Delight not all; among the sons of men,

classical beauty of these fabulous descriptions, which at once relieve and adorn his divine Poem. DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. ———— *thy scapes*] This is a Gallicism *Echappée*, a *prank* or *frolick*. DUNSTER.

*Scapes* here mean *vicious frolicks*, or *acts of lewdness*; and the word is common in our own old poetry. Thus in *Tancred and Gismund*, 1592, A. iii. S. ii.

————— “ the subtle *scapes* of men  
“ Hardned in shame, fear’d vp in the desire  
“ Of their owne *lustes*.”

Again in *The Teares of Love* by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 13. Cupid is the speaker :

“ Yea, I made Ioue to lay aside his shape,  
“ And (amongst mortalls) commit many a *scape*.”

But more particularly in Marston’s *Satyres*, 12<sup>mo</sup>. 1598, Sat. 5, where the satirist is ridiculing the exploits of the *heathen deities*, and, after recording the “ lewd acts” of Hercules, adds

“ Thus little *scapes* are deeply punished,  
“ But mighty villanes are for gods adored.” TODD.

Ver. 190. *Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,*] *Calisto, Semele*, and *Antiopa*, were mistresses to Jupiter; *Clymene* and *Daphne* to *Apollo*; and *Syrinx* to *Pan*. Both here and elsewhere, Milton considers the Gods of the Heathens as Demons or Devils. Thus, in the Septuagint version of the Psalms; Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἰθιῶν δαιμόνια. *Psalm* xcvi. 5. (and likewise in the Vulgate Latin, *Quoniam omnes Dii gentium demonia*). And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the shape of the Heathen Gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. p. 10. and 33. edit. Thirlbii. NEWTON.

Ver. 191. ———— *But these haunts*  
Delight not all;] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 2. “ *Non omnes arbuta juvant.*” DUNSTER.

How many have with a smile made small account

Of Beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd  
 All her assaults, on worthier things intent ! 195  
 Remember that Pellean conquerour,  
 A youth, how all the beauties of the East  
 He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd ;  
 How he, furnam'd of Africa, dismiss'd,  
 In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid. 200

Ver. 196. *Remember that Pellean conquerour, &c.*] Alexander the Great was born at *Pella* in Macedonia: his continence and clemency to Darius's queen, and daughters, and the other Persian ladies whom he took captive after the battle of Issus, are commended by the historians. "Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur. Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet, &c." *Quint. Curt.* lib. iii. cap. 9. He was then a young conquerour, of about twenty-three years of age, a youth, as Milton expresses it. NEWTON.

See Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 168.

"Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis." DUNSTER.

And Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, part the third, edit. 1642, p. 32.

"Where's Nimrod now, and dreadful Hannibal ?

"Where's that ambitious pert *Pellean lad* ?" TODD.

Ver. 197. ——— *how all the beauties of the East*

*He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd ;*] Alexander, we know from history, did not "slightly overpass all the beauties of the East." DUNSTER.

Ver. 199. *How he, furnam'd of Africa, dismiss'd,*

*In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.] The*

For Solomon, he liv'd at ease, and full  
 Of honour, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond  
 Higher design than to enjoy his state;  
 Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:  
 But he, whom we attempt, is wiser far 205  
 Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,  
 Made and fet wholly on the accomplishment  
 Of greatest things. What woman will you find,  
 Though of this age the wonder and the fame,  
 On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye 210  
 Of fond desire? Or should she, confident,

continence of Scipio Africanus at the age of twenty-four, and his generosity in restoring a beautiful Spanish lady to her husband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and various other authors. NEWTON.

Ver. 204. *Thence to the bait of women &c.*] This remark, applied by Satan to Solomon, the example cited by Belial, induces me to notice the description of Belial by Wierus, *Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum*, edit. Basil. 1582, p. 919. “Sunt quidam necromantici, qui asserunt ipsum Salomonem, quodam die *astutia cuiusdam mulieris seductum*, orando se inclinasse versus simulachrum *Belial* nomine, &c.” Wierus doubts this *particular* circumstance. But see *1 Kings*, xi. 1—8. And *Par. Lost*, B. i. 401, and the present book, ver. 169. TODD.

Ver. 210. *On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye Of fond desire?*] This *eye of fond desire* is very beautifully expressed by Æschylus, whom our author perhaps had in view. *Suppl.* ver. 1011.

Καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἔπει  
 Πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὀμματος θελκίηριον  
 Τόξευμ' ἐπεμψεν, ἡμέρῃ νικώμενΘ. THYER.

Æschylus has also the immediate expression, the *eye of desire*, in *Prometh.* ver. 655.

Ὡς ἀνδρῶν ὄμμα λωφῆσθαι ποθοῦ. DUNSTER.

As fitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne,  
 Descend with all her winning charms begirt  
 To enamour, as the zone of Venus once  
 Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell; 215  
 How would one look from his majestick brow,  
 Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,

Ver. 211. ———— *Or should she, confident,*

*As sitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne,*

*Descend with all her winning charms begirt &c.] This*

is clearly from the same palette and pencil as the following highly coloured passage, *Par. Lost*, B. viii. 59.

“ With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,

“ Not unattended, for on her as Queen

“ A pomp of winning Graces waited still,

“ And from about her shot darts of desire

“ Into all eyes to wish her still in sight.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 213. ———— *with all her winning charms begirt]* Begirt leads us to notice the similar expression in a line, to which the passage before us presents a beautiful contrast. See *Par. Reg.* B. i. 120. “ Girded with snaky wiles.” TODD.

Ver. 215. ———— *so fables tell;]* These words look as if the Poet had forgot himself, and spoke in his own person rather than in the character of Satan. NEWTON.

Ver. 216. ———— *one look from his majestick brow,*

*Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,]* Here is the

construction that we often meet with in Milton: from his majestick brow, that is, from the majestick brow of *him* seated as on the top of Virtue's hill: and the expression of *Virtue's hill* was probably in allusion to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the Table of Cebes, or the arduous ascent up the hill to which Virtue is represented pointing in the best designs of *the judgement of Hercules*. NEWTON.

Milton's meaning here is best illustrated by a passage in Shakspeare; which most probably he had in his mind. Hamlet, in the scene with his mother, pointing to the picture of his father, says,

Discountenance her despis'd, and put to rout  
 All her array; her female pride deject,  
 Or turn to reverent awe! for Beauty stands 220  
 In the admiration only of weak minds  
 Led captive; cease to admire, and all her plumes

“ See what a *grace* was seated on that brow!

“ Hyperion’s curls, the *front* of Jove himself;

“ An eye, like Mars to threaten or command, &c.”

See also *Love’s Labour Lost*, A. iii. S. iv. “ Greatness, nobleness, authority, and awe,” says Bentley, “ are by all Greek “ and Latin poets placed in the *forehead*.” See *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 509, ix. 538.

And Spenfer’s Belphœbe,

“ Her ivory *forehead* full of bounty brave

“ Like a broad table did itself dispread,

“ All good and honour might therein be read,

“ And there *their dwelling* was.” DUNSTER.

Perhaps we may here rather cite the coincident expression of G. Wither, in his *Fidelia*, 1622.

“ And *Vertue* (wherefoeuer she be now)

“ Seem’d then to sit *enthron’d* upon thy brow.”

See also Browne’s *Brit. Past.* B. i. S. iv.

“ Upon her *forehead*, as in glory, *fate*

“ Mercy and *Majesty*.” TODD.

Ver. 220. ————— for *Beauty stands*

*In the admiration only of weak minds*

*Led captive* ;] Among Milton’s early Latin Elegies we find one (the seventh) of the amatory kind. But when

he published his Latin Poems, eighteen years afterwards, he thought it necessary to add to it ten lines apologising for the puerile weakness, or rather vacancy, of his mind, that could admit such an impression. DUNSTER.

Ver. 222. ————— *cease to admire, and all her plumes*

*Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,*

*At every sudden slighting quite abash’d.*] This is

a very beautiful and apposite allusion to the peacock; speaking

Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,  
 At every sudden flighting quite abash'd.  
 Therefore with manlier objects we must try 225  
 His constancy; with such as have more show  
 Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise,  
 Rocks, whereon greatest men have ofttest wreck'd;  
 Or that which only seems to satisfy  
 Lawful desires of nature, not beyond; 230  
 And now I know he hungers, where no food  
 Is to be found, in the wide wilderness:  
 The rest commit to me; I shall let pass  
 No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.

He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud  
 acclaim; 235

of which bird, Pliny notices the circumstance of its spreading its tail under a sense of admiration; "*Gemmantes laudatus expandit colores, adverso maxime sole, quia sic fulgentius radiant.*" *Nat. Hist.* L. x. C. 20. Tasso compares Armida, in all the pride and vanity of her beauty and ornaments, to a peacock with its tail spread, c. xvi. st. 24. But Milton had here in his mind Ovid, *De Arte Am.* i. 627.

"*Laudatas ostentat avis Junonia pennas;*

"*Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 228. ————— have ofttest wreck'd;] We read according to Milton's own edition *ofttest*, which is better than *often* in the others. NEWTON.

Ver 232. ————— the wide wilderness:] In most of the editions, as doctor Newton observes, it is falsely printed "the *wild* wilderness." I must observe however, that what is written in Milton's manuscript of *Comus*, v. 403, "this *wide* surrounding waste," is, in the printed copies, "this *wild* surrounding waste." But the expression "*wide* wilderness" is also in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 224. Compare also Spenser, *Astrophel*, ver. 93. "Into a *forest WIDE* and *waste* he came." TODD.

Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band  
 Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,  
 To be at hand, and at his beck appear,  
 If cause were to unfold some active scene  
 Of various persons, each to know his part : 240  
 Then to the desert takes with these his flight ;  
 Where, still from shade to shade, the Son of God  
 After forty days fasting had remain'd,  
 Now hungering first, and to himself thus said.

Where will this end ? four times ten days  
 I've pass'd 245

Ver. 236. ——— to him takes a chosen band

[Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,] “ Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits *more wicked than himself.*” Matt. xii. 45. DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. *Now hungering first,*] There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain by the Scripture account, that our Saviour *hungered* before the Devil first tempted him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Milton's own account in the first book is consistent with this : is there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he *now first* *hungered*, especially considering the time that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and consulting with his companions ? THYER.

Milton comprises the principal action of the Poem in four successive days. This is the second day ; in which no positive temptation occurs, for Satan *had left* Jesus (as was said, ver. 116. of this Book) *vacant*, i. e. unassailed that day. Previous to the Tempter's appearing at all, it is said (B. i. 503.) that our blessed Lord had “ passed full forty days” in the wilderness. All that is here meant is that he was not hungry till the forty days were ended ; and accordingly our Saviour himself presently says that, during that time, he

————— “ human food  
 “ Nor tasted, nor had appetite.”

Wandering this woody maze, and human food  
 Nor tasted, nor had appetite; that fast  
 To virtue I impute not, or count part  
 Of what I suffer here; if nature need not,  
 Or God support nature without repast 250  
 Though needing, what praise is it to endure?  
 But now I feel I hunger, which declares  
 Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God  
 Can satisfy that need some other way,

As to the *time necessary* for convening the infernal council, there is the space of twenty-four hours taken for the Devil to go up to the *region of mid air*, where his council was sitting, and where we are told he went *with speed* (ver. 117 of this Book), and for him to debate the matter with his council, and return *with his chosen band of Spirits*: for it was the commencement of night, when he left our Saviour at the end of the first Book, and it is now "the hour of night," (ver. 260) when he is returned. But it must also be considered that spiritual beings are not supposed to require, for their *actions*, the *time* necessary to human ones; otherwise we might proceed to calculate the time requisite for the descent of Michael, or Raphael, to Paradise, and criticise the *Paradise Lost* accordingly. But Raphael, in the eighth Book of that Poem, says to Adam, inquiring concerning celestial motions,

- " The swiftness of those circles attribute,
- " Though numberless, to his Omnipotence,
- " That to corporeal substances could add
- " *Speed almost spiritual*; me thou think'st not slow,
- " Who since the morning hour set out from Heaven
- " Where God resides, and ere mid day arriv'd
- " In Eden, distance inexpressible
- " By numbers that have name."

We are also expressly told by St. Luke, when the Devil took our Lord up into a high mountain, that " he showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world *in a moment of time*," Luke, iv. 5.

DUNSTER.



Though hunger still remain : so it remain 255  
 Without this body's wasting, I content me,  
 And from the sting of famine fear no harm ;  
 Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed  
 Me hungering more to do my Father's will.

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son 260  
 Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down  
 Under the hospitable covert nigh  
 Of trees thick interwoven ; there he slept,  
 And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream, 264  
 Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet :

Ver. 258. ——— *fed with better thoughts.*] See my note  
 on *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 37. TODD.

Ver. 259. *Me hungering more to do my Father's will.*] In  
 allusion to our Saviour's words, *John*, iv. 34. "*My meat is to  
 do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.*"

NEWTON.

But with a reference also to, "Blessed are they which do  
*hunger and thirst after righteousness,*" *Matt.* v. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down*]  
 Agreeable to what we find in the *Psalms*, iv. 4. "*Commune  
 with your own heart upon your bed, and be still.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 262. ——— *the hospitable covert nigh  
 Of trees thick interwoven;*] Thus Horace, *Od.*

II. iii. 9.

"Qua pinus ingens albâque populus

"*Umbram hospitalem consociare amant*

"*Ramis.*"

And Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 24 ;

"Obviâque *hospitiis* teneat *frondentibus* arbos."

Milton also, in *Comus*, ver. 186 ;

—————"such cooling fruit

"As the kind *hospitable* woods provide." DUNSTER.

Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,  
 And saw the ravens with their horny beaks  
 Food to Elijah bringing, even and morn,  
 Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what  
 they brought :

He saw the Prophet also, how he fled 270  
 Into the desert, and how there he slept  
 Under a juniper ; then how awak'd  
 He found his supper on the coals prepar'd,  
 And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,  
 And eat the second time after repose, 273  
 The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days :

Ver. 266. *Him thought,*] We say now, and more justly, as doctor Newton has observed, *he thought* ; but *him thought* is of the same construction as *me thought*, and is used by our old writers, as by Fairfax, c. 13. st. 40. “ *Him thought* he heard the softly whistling wind.” See also Spenser, *Fuer. Qu.* iv. viii. 4, where some editions have arbitrarily changed “ *Him seemed*” into “ *He seemed*.” The phraseology is very ancient. See the *Liber Festivialis*, printed by Caxton, sign. k. ij. “ And whan he [St. George] sawe the araye of that damysel, *Him thought* that it shold be a woman of grete worth.” TODD.

Ibid. ————— *he by the brook of Cherith stood, &c.*] Alluding to the account of Elijah, 1 Kings, xvii. 5, 6. and xix. 4. And Daniel's living upon *pulse and water*, rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink, is celebrated, *Dan.* i. So that, as our dreams are often composed of the matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety supposed to dream of sacred persons and subjects. *Lucretius*, iv. 960.

“ Et quoi quisque serè studio devinctus adhæret,  
 “ Aut quibus in rebus multum fumus ante morati,  
 “ Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,  
 “ In somnis eadem plerùmque videmur obire.”

NEWTON.

Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,  
 Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.  
 Thus wore out night; and now the herald lark  
 Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry 280

Ver. 278. *Or as a guest*] Might we not read, "*Or was a guest.*" SYMPSON.

Ver. 279. ————— *the herald lark*] The lark is called by Shakspere, *Romeo and Juliet*, A. iii. S. v.

—————"the *herald* of the morn." NEWTON.

And by Browne, as Mr. Dunster also observes, in his *Brit. Pastorals*, 1616, B. i. S. iii. "The mounting lark, day's *herald*, got on wing." TODD.

Ver. 280. ————— *to descry*

*The Morn's approach, and greet her with his song:]*

This is a beautiful thought which modern wit hath added to the flock of antiquity. We may see it rising, though out of a low hint of Theocritus, like the bird from his *thatch'd pallat*. Idyll. x. 50.

Ἀρχεσθαι δ' ἀμῶντας ἐγχειρόμενον κορυδαλλῶν.

Chaucer leads the way to the English poets, in four of the finest lines in all his works, *Knight's Tale*, 1493.

"The merry lark, messengere of the day,

"*Salewith in her song the morrow gray,*

"And firy Phebus risith up so bright

"That all the Orient laugheth at the sight."

In the same manner Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. xi. 51.

—————"when Una did her mark

"Climb to her charet all with flowers spread,

"From Heaven high to chase the cheerless dark:

"*With merry notes her loud julates the mounting lark.*"

CALTON.

Thus, in *Comus*, the early hour of morning is marked by the lark's rousing from its *thatch'd pallat*, ver. 315. And the lark "high-towering and greeting the morn with her song," is thus beautifully described in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. ix. st. 2.

The Morn's approach, and greet her with his  
song :

As lightly from his grassy couch up rose  
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream ;  
Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.  
Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd, 285  
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,  
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd ;  
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw ;

“ The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,  
“ *With sweet salutes awakes the drowsy light ;*  
“ *The earth she left, and up to heaven is fled ;*  
“ There chants her Maker's praises out of sight.”

See also Spenser's *Astrophel*, ft. vi.

“ As summers lark that *with her song doth greet*  
“ The dawning day, &c.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 282. ———— *from his grassy couch*] So, in *Par.*  
*Lost*, B. iv. 600.

—————“ for beast and bird,  
“ They to *their grassy couch*, these to their nests,  
“ Were flunk.” THYER.

Milton might perhaps remember Lucretius's expression,  
“ *Herba cubile præbat*,” lib. v. TODD.

Ver. 283. ———— *and found all was but a dream ;*] *Par.*  
*Lost*, B. v. 92.

—————“ but, O ! how glad I wak'd  
“ *To find this but a dream !*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 287. *If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd ;*

*But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw ;*]

This mode of repetition our poet is fond of, and has frequently  
used with singular effect. See *Comus*, v. 221, &c. Thus also,  
in *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 640, a delightful description of morning,  
evening, and night, is beautifully recapitulated. DUNSTER.

Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,  
With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud: 290

Ver. 289. *Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove, &c.*] The Tempter here is the *Magician* of the Italian poets. This "pleasant grove" is a *magical* creation in the desert, designed as a *scene* suited for the ensuing temptation of the Banquet. Thus Tasso lays the scene of the sumptuous banquet, which Armida provides for her lovers, amidst

"High trees, sweet meadows, waters pure and good—

"Under the curtain of the greenwood shade,

"Beside the brook, upon the velvet grass."

Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. x. 63, 64.

The whole of Milton's description here is very beautiful; and I rather wonder that the noble author of the *Anecdotes of Painting* did not subjoin it to his citations, from the *Paradise Lost*, in his *Observations on modern Gardening*. He there ascribes to our author the having foreseen, "with the prophetick eye of taste," our modern style of gardening. It may however be questioned, whether his idea of a garden was much, if at all, elevated above that of his contemporaries. In the *Comus*, speaking of the gardens of the Hesperides, he describes *cedarn alleys*, and *crisp'd shades and bowers*; and in his *Penseroso*, "retired leisure" is made to please itself in *trim gardens*. Mr. Warton, in a note on the latter passage, observes that Milton had changed his ideas of a garden when he wrote his *Paradise Lost*. But the *Paradise* which he there describes is not a *Garden*, either ancient or modern. It is in fact a *Country* in its natural, unornamented state, only rendered beautiful, and, (which is more essential to happiness in a hot climate,) at all times perfectly habitable from its abundance of pleasingly-disposed shade and water, and its consequent verdure and fertility. From all such poetical delineations, as from Nature herself, the *Landscape Gardener* may certainly enrich his fancy, and cultivate his taste. The poet in the mean time contributes to the perfection of *Art*, not by laying down rules for it, but by his exquisite descriptions of the more beautiful scenes of *Nature*, which it is the office of *Art* to imitate and to represent. One merit of our modern art of laying out ground, independant of the beauty of its scenery, is its

Thither he bent his way, determin'd there  
To rest at noon; and enter'd soon the shade  
High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys  
brown,

being peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of our climate. A modern English pleasure-ground would not be considered as a Paradise on the sultry plains of Assyria, if it could be formed, or exist there: accordingly another mode of gardening has always prevailed in hot countries, which, though it would be the height of absurdity to adopt it in our own island, may be well defended in its proper place by the best of all pleas, necessity. The reader may see this question fully discussed, with great taste and judgement, by my learned friend Dr. Falconer, in his *Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and laying out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 291. ————— *determin'd there*

*To rest at noon,*] The custom of retiring to the shade and reposing, in hot countries, during the extreme heat of the middle part of the day, is frequently alluded to by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*. See B. iv. 627, B. v. 230, and 300, and B. ix. 401. DUNSTER.

Ver. 293. *High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,*] Such are also the arched over-shading groves of Spenser, with their walks, alleys, and arbours, *Faer. Qu. i. i. 7*.

“ A shady grove not far away they spied, &c.

“ *And all within were paths and allies wide.*”

See also *Faer. Qu. iv. x. 25*. *High-roof'd* reminds us of some of Milton's descriptions in the *Paradise Lost*, as in B. ix. 1037.

—————“ a shady bank

“ *Thick overhead with verdant roof imbower'd.*”

See also B. iv. 692, 772, B. v. 137. The deep shade, produced by great masses of wood, is a favourite object of our poet's description. The epithet *brown* that he applies to it, (as here “ *allies brown,*”) he borrowed from the Italian poets; as has been justly observed by Mr. Thyer. See his notes on *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 246, and B. ix. 1086. DUNSTER.

That open'd in the midst a woody scene ; 294  
 Nature's own work it seem'd, Nature-taught Art,  
 And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt

Ver. 294. *That open'd in the midst a woody scene ;*

*Nature's own work it seem'd,]* Here is some resemblance of Homer's description of the Bower of Calypso, *Odys.* v. 63, 73.

Ἦλθ' ὅτ' ἀμφιπέφυκεν τηλεβόωσα,

Κλήθρη τ' αἰγυρός τε, καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος.

——— ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ' ἵπελθων

Θήσασαίτο ἰδὼν, καὶ τερπθεῖν φρεσὶν ἥσιν.

It may be observed, that “ a various sylvan scene” was possibly suggested by Milton's “ happy *rural seat of various view*,” *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 246. DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. *Nature's own work it seem'd, Nature-taught Art,]* Thus Spenser in his description of the Gardens of Acrasia, *Faer. Qu.* ii. xii. 58.

“ And, that which all fair workes doth most aggrace,

“ The Art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.

59.

“ One would have thought, (so cunningly the rude

“ And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)

“ That Nature had for wantonness enfude

“ Art, and that Art at Nature did repine ;

“ So striving each the other to undermine,

“ Each did the other's work more beautify ; &c.”

But here he is not a little indebted to his predecessor Tasso, in his description of the Garden of Armida, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvi. ft. 9, 10. See also *Faer. Qu.* ii. v. 29. DUNSTER.

Ver. 296. ————— the haunt

*Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs :]* Milton terms “ the happy walks and shades” of Paradise “ fit *haunt* of Gods,” *Par. L.* B. xi. 271. See also *Par. L.* B. iii. 27, iv. 708. And compare Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* July, ver. 77.

“ Here han the holy Faunes recourse,

“ And Sylvanes *haunten* rathe.”

Milton alludes to this passage also, ver. 191. TODD.

Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs : he view'd  
it round.

When suddenly a man before him stood ;  
Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad,  
As one in city, or court, or palace bred, 300  
And with fair speech these words to him ad-  
drefs'd.

With granted leave officious I return,

Ver. 299. *Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad,*] The Tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man *in rural weeds* ; but now, when he comes to offer a magnificent entertainment, he is *seemlier clad*, and appears as a wealthy citizen or a courtier : and here *with fair speech* he addresses his words, there it was only *with words thus utter'd spake*. These lesser particulars have a propriety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's observation. NEWTON.

Ver. 302. *With granted leave*] It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion of the former book, had asked leave to come again, but all the answer that our Saviour returned was

“ Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,

“ I bid not or forbid ; do as thou find’st

“ Permission from above.”

But, as the Tempter must needs have been a most impudent being, it was perfectly in character to represent him as taking *permission* for *granted leave*. NEWTON.

The *granted leave* here, is “ permission from above.” In answer to Satan’s request, (B. i. 492.)

—————“ disdain not such access to me,”

our Saviour had said,

—————“ do as thou find’st

“ Permission from above.”



But much more wonder that the Son of God  
 In this wild folitude fo long fhould bide,  
 Of all things deftitute ; and, well I know, 305  
 Not without hunger. Others of fome note,  
 As flory tells, have trod this wildernefs ;  
 The fugitive bond-woman, with her fon

Satan therefore here introduces himfelf with a boaft of *that permiffion* from HIM, who had before given up Job to be tempted by him, B. i. 368. Indeed our author makes the Deity, in his fpeech to Gabriel, fay, fpeaking of our bleffed Lord, B. i. 140.

———“ this Man, born and now up-grown,  
 “ To fhew him worthy of his birth divine  
 “ And high prediction, henceforth I expofe  
 “ To Satan ; let him tempt and now affay  
 “ His utmoft fubtlty.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 308. *The fugitive bond-woman, with her fon &c.]* Hagar, who fled from the face of her miftrefs, *Gen.* xvi. 6, is therefore called a *fugitive*: her fon was not a fugitive, but an *out-caft* ; fo exact was our author in the ufe of his epithets. But then what fhall we fay to the words, *Out-caft Nebaioth* ? For Nebaioth was the eldeft fon of Ifhmael, (*Gen.* xxv. 13.) and grandfon of Abraham and Hagar. He feems here to be put by miftake for Ifhmael ; at leaft it is not ufual to call the father by the name of the fon. NEWTON.

There is no immediate inftance of a grandfon being fubftituted for a fon in fcripture: and yet the curfe is addreffed to Canaan, (*Gen.* ix. 25.) though it was Ham, his father, who had offended Noah: But *Nebaioth* and Canaan both gave names to a people defcended from them, viz. the Canaanites, and Nabathœans; and therefore each of their names might attach to their fathers as the firft flock of their refpective nations. Ifhmael was not born, when Hagar fled from her miftrefs's face, *Gen.* xvi. 6. But the term *fugitive* here refers to what is faid of her, *Gen.* xxi, when ſhe and her fon were both *caſt out* at the inſtigation of Sarah, and with the approbation of God; when alfo, in her diſtreſs in

Out-cast Nebaioth, yet found here relief  
 By a providing Angel ; all the race 310  
 Of Israel here had famish'd, had not God  
 Rain'd from Heaven manna ; and that Prophet  
 bold,

the wilderness, she *cast the child from her to die*. This moment of distress is the exact moment of Milton's description.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 309. ———— *found here relief*] In Milton's own edition it is "found *he* relief;" perhaps an unnoticed error of the press. The editions, since the folio of 1688 which continues this reading, give "*here* relief." TODD.

Ver. 312. ———— *and that Prophet bold,*] In the character of Elijah, as it stands portrayed in Scripture, we trace a spirit and resolution of the most dignified kind. Hence it is said, 1 *Maccab.* ii. 58, that "he was taken up into Heaven for *being fervent and zealous for the law*." The *twelve* first verses of the 48th chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* are entirely occupied with a panegyrick upon him; in which it is said, that *he stood up like fire*, and that *his words burned like a lamp*; which expressions must be understood to imply a peculiar fervour of zeal and spirit. Milton seems to have been much struck with the character of this "Prophet bold," as he here terms him. He had before, ver. 16, of this Book, called him the "Great Thibite," and has mentioned him no less than four times in this Poem, and three times in his juvenile Latin Poems. *El.* iv. *In Prodit. Bombard.* and *In obit. Præful. Eliens.* But it may be observed, (and I hope without impropriety,) that possibly he had a *political* predilection for this eminent Prophet, to whose lot it fell to resist the tyranny of wicked kings, and to denounce the judgments of God against them. In this part of his office he particularly manifested his undaunted spirit; on which account he might be a favourite scripture-character with our author. Compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621. p. 480.

—————"Thibite Elijah—

"Who, burning *bold* in spirit and speech, cries out

"In Ahab's ear, and all his Court about,

"O impious Ahab!" DUNSTER.

Native of Thebez, wandering here was fed  
 Twice by a voice inviting him to eat:  
 Of thee these forty days none hath regard, 315  
 Forty and more deserted here indeed.

To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'ft thou  
 hence?

They all had need; I, as thou seest, have none.

How hast thou hunger then? Satan replied.  
 Tell me, if food were now before thee set, 320  
 Would'ft thou not eat?—Thereafter as I like  
 The giver, answer'd Jesus.—Why should that

Ver. 313. ————— *wandering here was fed*] It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wandered with her son, and where the Israelites were fed with manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same with the wilderness, where our Saviour was tempted. And yet it is certain, that they were very different places; for the wilderness, where Hagar wandered, was *the wilderness of Beer-sheba*, Gen. xxi. 14; and where the Israelites were fed with manna was *the wilderness of Sin*, Exod. xvi. 1; and where Elijah retreated was *in the wilderness, a day's journey from Beer-sheba*, 1 Kings, xix. 4: and where our Saviour was tempted was *the wilderness near Jordan*. But our author considers all that tract of country as one and the same wilderness, though distinguished by different names from the different places adjoining. NEWTON.

Ver. 321. *Would'ft thou not eat?—Thereafter as I like  
 The giver, answer'd Jesus.*] Thus in *Comus*, when the Enchanter offers the cup to the Lady, and presses her to drink of it, she tells him,

“ Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,  
 “ I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none  
 “ But such as are good men can give good things; &c.”

DUNSTER.

Cause thy refusal? said the subtle Fiend.  
 Hast thou not right to all created things?  
 Owe not all creatures by just right to thee 325  
 Duty and service, nor to stay till bid,  
 But tender all their power? Nor mention I  
 Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd first  
 To idols, those young Daniel could refuse;  
 Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who 330  
 Would scruple that, with want oppress'd? Behold,  
 Nature asham'd, or, better to express,  
 Troubled, that thou should'st hunger, hath pur-  
 vey'd  
 From all the elements her choicest store,  
 To treat thee, as befits, and as her Lord, 335  
 With honour: only deign to fit and eat.

Ver. 324. *Hast thou not right to all created things?*

*Owe not all creatures by just right to thee*

*Duty and service, &c. &c.] This part of the*

Tempter's speech alludes to the heavenly declaration which he  
 had heard at Jordan, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. One may ob-  
 serve too, that it is much the same sort of flattering address with  
 that which he had before made use of to seduce Eve, *Paradise*  
*Lost*, B. ix. 539;

“Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine,

“By gift, &c.” THYER.

Ver. 333. ————— *hath purvey'd*

*From all the elements her choicest store,]* The

Latin Poets have similar passages, descriptive of that unbounded  
 luxury, which ransacked all the elements to furnish out the re-  
 quisite delicacies of their banquets. Thus *Juv. Sat. xi. 14.*

“*Interca gustus elementa per omnia quærunt.*”

DUNSTER.

He spake no dream ; for, as his words had end,  
 Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld,  
 In ample space under the broadest shade,  
 A table richly spread, in regal mode, 340

Ver 337. *He spake no dream ;*] This was no dream, as before ver. 264, but a reality. NEWTON.

Ver. 340. *A table richly spread, &c.*] This temptation is not recorded in Scripture, but is however invented with great consistency, and very aptly fitted to the present condition of our Saviour. This way of embellishing his subject is a privilege which every poet has a just right to, provided he observes harmony and decorum in his hero's character ; and one may further add, that Milton had in this particular place still a stronger claim to an indulgence of this kind, since it was a pretty general opinion among the Fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than those which are mentioned by the Evangelists ; nay, Origen goes so far as to say, that he was every day, whilst he continued in the wilderness, attacked by a fresh one. The beauties of this description are too obvious to escape any reader of taste. It is copious, and yet expressed with a very elegant conciseness. Every proper circumstance is mentioned, and yet it is not at all clogged or incumbered, as is often the case, with too tedious a detail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his *Paradise Lost*, for which reason he has been the more diffuse, and laboured it with greater care, with the same good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before described. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly shews the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his *Paradise Regained*. THYER.

The banquet, as Dr. Newton observes, is like that prepared by Armida for her lovers. Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. x. st. 64*. Temptations of this kind are indeed common in romances. In the third act of an old drama, entitled *The Wisdom of Dr. Dodypoll*, 4to. 1600, there is also a similar scene. See my note on *Comus*, v. 659. TODD.

With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort  
 And flavour; beasts of chase, or fowl of game,  
 In pastry built; or from the spit, or boil'd,  
 Gris-amber-steam'd; all fish, from sea or shore,  
 Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin, 345

Ver. 340. — *richly spread, in regal mode,]* *Regal mode* was probably intended to glance at the luxury and expence of the Court at that time: it is however well *covered* by classical authority. Thus Sil. Ital. xi. 272.

“ Instituant de more epulas, festamque per urbem

“ *Regifice extructis celebrant convivia mensis.*”

And Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 604.

———— “ *epulæque ante ora paratæ*

“ *Regifico luxu.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 343. *In pastry built,]* The pastry in the beginning of the last century, was frequently of considerable magnitude and solidity. Of such kind must have been the pye in which Jeoffrey Hudson, afterwards King James's Dwarf, when eight years old, was served up to table at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham. We may suppose this pye was not considerably larger than was usual on such occasions, otherwise the joke would have lost much of its effect from something extraordinary being expected. A species of *mural* pastry seems to have prevailed in some of the preceding centuries, when artificial representations of castles, towers, &c. were very common at all great feasts, and were called *suttleties*, *subtilties*, or *fortilties*.—Leland, in his account of the entertainment at the inthronization of Archbishop Warham in 1504, (*Collectanea*, vol. 6,) mentions “ a suttlety of three stages, with vanes and towres embattled,” and “ a warner with eight towres embattled, and made with flowres;” which possibly meant *made in pastry*.—In the catalogue of the expences at this feast, there is a charge for wax and sugar, *in operatione de le fortilties*. Probably the wax and sugar were employed to render the paste of flour more adhesive and tenacious, the better to support itself when moulded into such a variety of forms. DUNSTER.

Ver. 345. *Freshet or purling brook,]* *Freshet, a stream of*

And exquisiteſt name, for which was drain'd  
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coaſt.

*freſh water.* So Browne, in his *Brit. Paſtorals*, 1613, B. ii. S. iii. of fiſh, who

“ Now love the *freſhet*, and then love the ſea.” TORD.

Ver. 346. *And exquisiteſt name,*] This alludes to that ſpecies of Roman luxury, which gave *exquiſite names* to fiſh of exquisite taſte, ſuch as that they called *cerebrum Jovis*. They extended this even to a very capacious diſh, as that they called *clypeum Minervæ*. The modern Italians fall into the ſame wantonneſs of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquisite wines by the names of *lacrymæ Chriſti* and *lac Virginis*. WARBURTON.

Ibid. ————— for which was drain'd

*Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coaſt.*] The fiſh are brought to furniſh this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from *Pontus*, or the Euxine Sea, in Aſia; from the *Lucrine Bay*, in Italy; and from the *coaſt of Africa*; all which places are celebrated for different kinds of fiſh by the authors of antiquity. NEWTON.

Milton had here in his mind the exceſſive luxury of the Romans in the article of fiſh; in regard to which it is ſaid by Juvenal that, having exhausted their own ſeas, they were obliged to be ſupplied from their diſtant provinces. DUNSTER.

Ver. 347. *Pontus, &c.*] Pliny obſerves how quickly all ſorts of fiſh came to perfection in the *Pontus Euxinus*. “ *Piſcium genus omne præcipua celeritate adoleſcit, maxime in Ponto. Cauſa, multitudo amnium dulces inferentium aquas.*” L. ix. 15. Horace notices the ſhell-fiſh of the Lucrine Lake, *Epod.* ii. 49. “ *Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia;*” and particularly commends its muſcles, *Sat.* II. iv. 32. Martial records the excellence of the *Lucrine Oysters*, Lib. iii. *Ep.* ix. 3. Theſe were ſo much in requeſt that *Lucrina* alone is uſed by the laſt-mentioned poet to ſignify oysters. L. vi. *Ep.* xi. 5. & L. xii. *Ep.* xlviii. 4. Aulus Gellius, in his chapter on Roman Luxury, extracted from the Satire of M. Varro *περί ἡδισμάτων*, notices the Lamprey from the Straits of Gibraltar, *Muræna Tarteſſia*. L. vii. 16. It is related by Athenæus (B. i. p. 7.) that the celebrated Roman

(Alas, how simple, to these cates compar'd,  
Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!)  
And at a stately side-board, by the wine 350  
That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood

glutton Apicius, having been used to eat at Minternæ a sort of cray-fish, which exceeded the lobsters of Alexandria in bigness, when he was told there were some of these fish still larger, to be found on the *coast of Africa*, sailed thither immediately, in spite of a great many inconveniencies. The fishermen, who were apprized of the object of his voyage, met him with the largest they had taken; but as soon as he found they had none which exceeded those he had been used to eat at Minternæ, he sailed back instantly without going on shore. DUNSTER.

Ver. 349. ————— *that diverted Eve !]* *Diverted* is here used in the Latin signification of *diverto*, to *turn aside*.

NEWTON.

*Diverted* is often thus employed in old English poetry. See Nicols's *Cuckow*, 1607, p. 10. And Drayton's *Owle*, 1604. And Spenser, *F. Q.* iii. iii. 62. In Milton's time this usage of the word appears to have been common. Thus, in his *Eiconoclastes*, chap. xi. "Which omen, taken from his own mouth, God hath not *diverted*." Again, chap. xxii. "He *diverted* his course."

TODD.

Ver. 350. *And at a stately side-board, &c.]* As the scene of this entertainment lay in the east, Milton has with great judgement thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of eastern grandeur; as in that part of the world, it is well known, a great part of the pomp and splendour of their feasts consists in their having a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes, to attend and divert the guests with musick and singing. THYER.

Ver. 350. ————— *wine* .

*That fragrant smell diffus'd,]* Thus Homer, *Odys.* ix. 210,

—— ὁδμὴ δ' ἠδεῖα ἀπὸ χρητῆρος ὀδώδε  
Θισπεσίη. —————



Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue  
Than Ganymed or Hylas ; distant more  
Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood,

And Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 301.

“ Plenâque odorati Dîs ponit pocula *Bacchi*.”

The Ancients prized their wines according to their fragrance. *Θῖνος ἀρωσμίαις* was the term of supreme commendation among the Greeks. DUNSTER.

Ver. 353. *Than Ganymed or Hylas ;*] These were two most beautiful youths, the one beloved by Jupiter, to whom he was cup-bearer, the other by Hercules, for whom he drew water : they are therefore both properly mentioned upon this occasion.

NEWTON.

Milton had mentioned these two boys in his *seventh Elegy*, where he compares the God of Love to them. In which he had most probably an eye to Spenser's description of Fancy in his *Mask of Cupid*, *Faer. Qu.* iii. xii. 7.

“ The first was *Fancy*, like a lovely boy, &c.”

DUNSTER.

Milton here alludes to the description of the costly tables of the Romans, their *waiters*, &c. given by an author, to whose opinions he was certainly partial : “ Seneca describes the order and number of their *waiters* more particularly : They had *waiting on them*, saith he, *puerorum infelicium greges*, whole troops of unfortunate *Ganymedes*, &c.” Hakewill's *Apol. of the Power and Providence of God*, fol. ed. 1630, p. 376.

TODD.

Ver. 354. ————— *now solemn stood,*] The same idea of graceful attitude is given in a line of *Comus*, where the Enchanter, speaking to the Lady of her Brothers, whom he professes to have seen, says,

“ Their port was *more than human as they stood*.”

Hamlet likewise, in the scene with his mother, thus exemplifies the *gracefulness* of his father's person,

“ A *station* like the herald Mercury

“ New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill ;”

where *station* is *attitude*, or *the act of standing*. DUNSTER.

Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades 355  
 With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,  
 And ladies of the Hesperides, that seem'd  
 Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Ver. 355. *Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades'*

*With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,*

*And ladies of the Hesperides,]* The poet perhaps

specifies these beautiful attendants, as more eminently possessing the power of beguiling the heart: *The Nymphs of Diana's train*, on account of their remarkable beauty; see *Odys.* vi. 110. *The Naiades*, as having been companions of the enchantress, Circe; see *Comus*, ver. 254. And *The ladies of the Hesperides*, by their skill in singing. See notes on *Comus*, v. 981. Compare also P. Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* 1613. C. x. st. 30.

"Choice *Nymph*, the crown of chaste *Diana's train*,

"Thou beautie's lillie, &c." TODD.

Ibid. ————— Naiades

*With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,]* The story of *Amalthea's horn*, strictly so called, is given by Ovid, *Fast.* v. 115, &c. But in the beginning of the ninth Book of the *Metamorphoses*, a different history of a *Cornucopia* is given, which seems to be more immediately referred to in this passage of the *Paradise Regained*.

"Nec satis id fuerat; rigidum fera dextera cornu

"Dum tenet infregit; truncâque a fronte revellit.

"*Naiades hoc, pomis et odore flore repletum,*

"*Sacrarunt; divêsq; meo bona Copia cornu est.*"

DUNSTER.

Ver. 358. *Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since]* Some readers may perhaps, in this passage, think our author a little too fond of showing his great reading; a fault, of which he is indeed sometimes guilty: But those who are conversant in romance-writers, and know how lavish they are in the praises of their beauties, will, I doubt not, discover great propriety in this allusion. THYER.

Whenever Milton takes any images from his favourite romances, he immediately rises, as here, into the most exquisite

Of faery damfels, met in forest wide  
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,

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poetry ; and seems to finish his lines with peculiar pleasure and art. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 359. — *faery damfels, met in forest wide*

*By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,*

*Lancelot, or Pellcas, or Pellenore.] Sir Lancelot,*

*Pelleas, and Pellenore, (thē latter by the title of King Pellenore,) are Persons in the old Romance of Morte d' Arthur, or The Lay of King Arthur, of his noble Knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorous deth of them all ; written originally in French, and translated into English by Sir Thomas Malleory, Knt. printed by William Caxton, 1484.—From this old Romance, Mr. Warton, (Observations on Spenser, Sect. 2,) shows that Spenser borrowed much. Sir Lancelot is there called of Logris ; and Sir Tristram is named of Lyones, under which title he appears also in the Faery Queen. Logris is the same with Loegria (according to the more fabulous historians, and amongst them Milton,) an old name for England. Hollinshed calls it both Loegria and Logiers. See his History of England, B. ii. 4, 5. The same author, in his Description of Britain, instead of Loegria, or Logiers, writes it Lhoegres. The Title of his 22d Chapter is, after what manner the sovereigntie of this isle doth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England. Spenser, in his Faery Queen, where he gives the Chronicle of the early Briton Kings from Brute to Uther's reign, calls it Logris, ii. x. 14.*

“ And Camber did possess the western quart,

“ Which Severn now from Logris doth depart.”

*Lyones* was an old name for Cornwall, or at least for a part of that county. Camden, (in his *Britannia*,) speaking of the *Land's End*, says, “ the inhabitants are of opinion that this promontory did once reach farther to the West, which the sea-men positively conclude from the rubbish they draw up. The neighbours will tell you too, from a certain old tradition, that the land there drowned by the incursions of the sea was called *Lionesse*.” Sir Tristram of Lyones, or Lionesse, is well known to the readers of the old romances. In the French translation of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, he is termed *Tristan de Leonnois*, although

Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.

And all the while harmonious airs were heard

in the original he is only mentioned by the single name of Trifram. In the *Orlando Inamorato* also, among the knights, who defend Angelica in the fortrefs of Albracca against Agrican, is Sir Hubert of Lyones, *Uberto dal Leone*.—Trifram, in his account of himself in the *Fuery Queen*, vi. ii. 28, says,

“ And Trifram is my name, the only heire  
 “ Of good king Meliograss, which did rayne  
 “ In *Cornewale*, ’till that he through lives despeire  
 “ Untimely dyde.”

He then relates how his Uncle seized upon the crown, whereupon his Mother, conceiving great fears for her Son’s personal safety, determined to send him into “ some foreign land,”

“ Out of the countrie wherein I was bred,  
 “ The which the fertile *Lionessè* is hight,  
 “ Into the land of *Facie*.”

These particulars, Mr. Warton shows, are drawn from the *Morte d’ Arthur*, where it is said “ there was a knight Meliodas, and he was Lord and King of the county of Lyones, and he wedded King Marke’s sister of *Cornewale*.” The issue of this marriage was Sir Trifram. These Knights, he also observes, are there often represented as meeting beautiful damsels in desolate forests. Sir *Pelleas*, “ a very valorous knight of Arthur’s round table,” is one of those who pursue the Blatant Beast, when, after having been conquered and chained up by Sir *Calidore*, it “ broke its iron chain” and again “ ranged through the world,” *Faery Qu.* vi. xii. 39.

Milton’s later thoughts could not, we find, but rove at times where, as he himself told us, “ his younger feet wandered,” when he “ betook him among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn Cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renowne over all Christendome.” *Apol. for Smeectym.* p.177. *Prose Works*, ed. Amst. 1698. DUNSTER.

Ver. 362. *And all the while harmonious airs were heard*  
*Of chiming strings, or charming pipes ;]* Thus  
 in *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 558,

Of chiming strings, or charming pipes; and winds  
 Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fann'd 384  
 From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.

————— “ the sound  
 “ Of instruments *that made melodious chime.*”

And again, ver. 594, “ *charming symphonies.*” Spenser, as Mr. Calton observes, thus likewise uses the verb *to charm*, Faer. Qu. v. ix. 13.

“ Like as the fouler on his guilefull *pype*  
 “ *Charmes* to the birds full many a pleasant lay.”

But Spenser has *to charm* frequently in this sense. Thus, in his *Colin Clout's come home again*, of his shepherd's boy,

“ *Charming his oaten pipe* unto his peers.”

And again in the conclusion of his *October*,

“ Here we our *slender pipes* may safely *charme.*”

DUNSTER.

Milton uses the expression “ *charming pipe*,” in his *Prose-Works* also. “ The *charming pipe* of him who founded and proclaimed liberty &c.” vol. i. p. 281. edit. 1698. TODD.

Ver. 363. ————— and winds

*Of gentlest gales Arabian odours fann'd*

*From their soft wings,*] Mr. Thyer, who sup-

poses this circumstance introduced in compliance with the eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, has noticed the similarity of the following lines, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 156.

————— “ now gentle gales,  
 “ *Fanning* their odoriferous wings, disperse  
 “ Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole  
 “ Those balmy spoils.”

He might also have cited a beautiful line from our Author's early *Elegy*, *In adventum veris*;

“ Cinnamonâ Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer alâ.”

Milton in the same *Elegy* refers to the “ Arabian odours;” and in the continuation of the passage from the *Paradise Lost*, exhibited by Mr. Thyer, he speaks of the winds blowing

Such was the splendour; and the Tempter now  
His invitation earnestly renew'd.

What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?  
These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict  
Defends the touching of these viands pure; 370  
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,

“ Sabæan odours from the *spicy shore*

“ *Of Araby the blest.*” DUNSTER.

See likewise *Par. Lost*, B. viii. 515, &c. And compare Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* i. 1142; and particularly the following passage from Drayton, *Muses Eliz.* 1630, p. 138.

“ Where the *soft windes* did mutually embrace,

“ In the cool arbours Nature there had made;

“ *Fanning their sweet breath* gently in his face,

“ Through the calm cincture of the amorous shade.”

And see also my notes on *Par. L.* B. v. 6. B. x. 92. TODD.

Ver. 366. *Such was the splendour;*] Virgil describing the magnificent entertainment prepared by Dido for Æneas, (*Æn.* i. 637,) says,

“ At domus interior regali *splendida luxu*

“ *Infruitur;*

on which La Cerda observes, “ Apte et signate *splendore, nam splendor de conviviis sæpe;*” and he cites from Athenæus, B. iii. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΝ δειπνῆ παρασκευὴν. DUNSTER.

Ver. 369. *These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict*

*Defends the touching of these viands pure;*

*Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,]*

This farcaistical allusion to the Fall of Man, and to that particular command by the transgression of which, being seduced by Satan, he fell, is finely in character of the speaker.

Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, terms the forbidden fruit “ the tree of *interdicted* knowledge.” And, in the eighth Book, where Adam, relating to the Angel what he remembered since his own creation, particularly recites the “ rigid *interdiction,*” ver. 323—335. DUNSTER.

But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,  
 Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.  
 All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and  
     springs,  
 Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay 375  
 Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord:  
 What doubt'st thou, Son of God? Sit down  
     and eat.

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied.  
 Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?  
 And who withholds my power that right to use?  
 Shall I receive by gift what of my own, 381  
 When and where likes me best, I can command?  
 I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,  
 Command a table in this wilderness,  
 And call swift flights of Angels ministrant 385  
 Array'd in glory on my cup to attend:  
 Why should'st thou then obtrude this diligence,  
 In vain, where no acceptance it can find?  
 And with my hunger what hast thou to do?

Ver. 374. *All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,*] These "Spirits of air, and woods, and springs," remind us of Shakspeare's "Elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves," in the *Tempest*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 384. *Command a table &c.*] From *Psalms* lxxviii. 19. "They said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness."

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 385. ———— *flights of Angels*] An expression likewise in Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. v. S. vi. "And *flights of Angels* sing thee to thy rest." NEWTON.

Compare *St. Matt.* xxvi. 53. DUNSTER.

Thy pompous delicacies I contemn, 390  
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.

To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent,  
That I have also power to give, thou seest;  
If of that power I bring thee voluntary  
What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd,  
And rather opportunely in this place 396  
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,  
Why should'st thou not accept it? but I see  
What I can do or offer is suspect;  
Of these things others quickly will dispose, 400  
Whose pains have earn'd the far-fet spoil. With  
that  
Both table and provision vanish'd quite

Ver. 391. *And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.*] Not without a resemblance to Virgil. *Æn.* ii. 49.

———“ timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;”

and to a preceding part of the same speech of Laocoon;

———“ O miseri, quæ tanta infania, cives?

“ Creditis avectos hostes, aut ulla putatis

“ *Dona carere dolis Danaum?*”

Dr. Newton observes, that “ *thy gifts no gifts*” is from Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 675.

Εχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα, κ' ἐκ ὀνήσιμα. DUNSTER.

Compare our author, in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, sect. xi. “ Shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies, whose GIFTS ARE NO GIFTS, but the instruments of our bane?” TODD.

Ver. 401. ————— *far-fet*] Dr. Newton collects several instances of Chaucer, Spenser, and Johnson, using *fet*; and accompanies them with an observation “ that *fet* is much softer than *fetch'd*,” upon which he grounds another remark that



With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard :  
 Only the impórtune Tempter still remain'd,  
 And with these words his temptation pursued. 405

By hunger, that each other creature tames,  
 'Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd ;  
 Thy temperance, invincible besides,  
 For no allurement yields to appetite ;

“ our old writers had a better ear, and studied the beauties of sound more than the moderns.” I confess, to my ear *far-fetch'd* reads at least as musically as *far-fet*. But “*fet*” is one of those *old* words which Milton sometimes introduces purposely to deviate from the more modernised language of the day. Obvious and ordinary forms of speech, as Addison observes, in his *Critique* on the *Language* of the *Paradise Lost*, are so far debased by common use, that they became improper for a poet or an orator. “ Old words,” he adds, “ make a poem appear the more venerable, by giving it an air of antiquity.” *Fet* is frequently used for *fetched* in our version of the Scriptures. DUNSTER.

Ver. 401. ————— *With that*

*Both table and provision vanish'd quite*

*With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard:]*

See the notes on *Comus*, ver. 659. TODD.

Ver. 403. *With sound &c.*] The *sound* of the wings and talons is much finer than if the harpies had been *seen*, because the imagination is left at work, and the surprise is greater than if they had been mentioned before. T. WARTON.

As this infernally magical banquet vanishes, the attendant spirits (see before ver. 236) who had appeared in the scene as “ tall stripling youths, nymphs of Diana's train, or ladies of the Hesperides,” resume their proper infernal shapes. Milton, we may observe, characterises the Furies as *harpy-footed*, *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 596. DUNSTER.

Ver. 404. ——— impórtune] Spenser and our old poets write *impórtune*, thus accented ; *Faer. Qu.* i. xii. 16.

“ And often blame the too *impórtune* fate.” NEWTON.

And all thy heart is set on high designs, 410  
 High actions : but wherewith to be achiev'd ?  
 Great acts require great means of enterprife ;  
 Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,  
 A carpenter thy father known, thyself  
 Bred up in poverty and straits at home, 415  
 Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit :  
 Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire  
 To greatness ? whence authority deriv'st ?  
 What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,  
 Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude, 420  
 Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost ?  
 Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and  
 realms :

Ver. 416. ————— *hunger-bit* :] This word occurs in *Job*, xviii. 12, as Mr. Dunster has remarked. It is also an old poetical compound. Thus, in a Sonnet by H. C. prefixed to *The Workes of the Rev. M. R. Greenham*, 4to. 2d edit. 1599.

“ The thirstie soule, that fainteth in the way ;

“ Or *hunger-bit* for heavenly foode doth long.”

And, in Arden of Feversham, 4to. 1599. Sign. D. 3.

“ The *hunger-bitten* wolfe.” TODD.

Ver. 420. Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,

Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost ?] The dizzy multitude is the *ventosa plebs* of the Roman poet, who speaks of *them*, as to be gained in the same manner. Hor. *Epist.* I. xix. 37.

“ Non ego *ventosæ plebis* suffragia venor

“ *Impensis cænarum.*”

See also Shakespeare, *Henry V.* A. iv. S. iii.

“ Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 422. Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms :]

What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,  
 And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,  
 Thy throne, but gold that got him puissant  
 friends ?

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Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,  
 Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,  
 Not difficult, if thou hearken to me :  
 Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand ;

Mammon, in the *Faery Queen*, attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences, ii. vii. 11.

- “ Vain-glorious Elf, said he, dost thou not weet,  
 “ That money can thy wants at will supply ?  
 “ Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet,  
 “ It can purvey in twinkling of an eye :  
 “ And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.  
 “ Do I not kings create, and throw the crown  
 “ Sometimes to him that low in dust doth lie ?  
 “ And him that reign'd into his room thrust down ;  
 “ And whom, I lust, do heap with glory and renown ?”

CALTON.

Ver. 423. *What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,*

*And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,]* This

appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with great riches. Φίλος δὲ τις Ἰρκανῆ Ἰδουμαῖος, Ἀντίπατρος λεγόμενος, πολλῶν μὲν εὐπορῶν χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ. *Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. ii.* And his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favour of Mark Antony, partly for the sake of the money which he promised to give him ; τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ Ἡρώδης ἐπέσχετο δώσειν εἰ γίνοιτο βασιλεὺς. *Ibid. cap. xxvi.* NEWTON.

Ver. 427. *Get riches first,]* Hor. *Epist. I. i. 53.*

———“ quærenda pecunia primum est.” NEWTON.

Ver. 429. *Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand ;*

*They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,]*

This temptation we owe to our author's invention, as Mr. Thyer

They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain, 430  
While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.

To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.  
Yet wealth, without these three, is impotent  
To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.  
Witness those ancient empires of the earth, 435  
In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd :  
But men endued with these have oft attain'd  
In lowest poverty to highest deeds ;  
Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,

observes, who adds, that "it is very happily contrived, as it gradually leads the reader on to the stronger ones in the following books." It affords also a fine opportunity of concluding this book with some reflexions, the beauty of which Mr. Thyer has justly noted, on the insufficiency of riches and power to the happiness of mankind. The language here reminds us of Spenser, who puts a similar speech in the mouth of Mammon, *Faer. Qu. ii. vii. 8.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 432. *To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.*] When our Saviour, a little before, refused to partake of the banquet, to which Satan had invited him, the line ran thus, ver. 378.

"To whom thus Jesus *temperately* replied."

But now when Satan has reproached him with his poverty and low circumstances, the word is fitly altered, and the verse runs thus,

"To whom thus Jesus *patiently* replied." NEWTON.

Ver. 439. *Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,*] Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture, and of his own nation, as being the best known to him ; but it is with great art that the poet also supposes him not to be unacquainted with Heathen history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself, "*O my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manassah, and I am the least in my father's house.*" Judges, vi. 15.

Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat 440  
 So many ages, and shall yet regain  
 That seat, and reign in Israel without end.  
 Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world  
 To me is not unknown what hath been done  
 Worthy of memorial,) canst thou not remember  
 Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus? 446

And Jephtha "*was the son of an harlot,*" and his brethren  
 "*thrust him out, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our  
 father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman.*" Judges,  
 xi. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheep-hook to a  
 scepter is very well known. NEWTON.

David is also called the "*shepherd lad,*" in P. Fletcher's  
*Purp. Island*, 1633. c. ix. st. 17.

" Upon his shield was drawn that *shepherd lad*,

" Who with a sling threw down faint Israel's fears."

TODD.

Ver. 446. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?*] *Quintius Cincinnatus* was twice invited from following the plough, to be consul and dictator of Rome; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with publick lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negotiating a peace with the Romans: and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the publick expence, and his daughters fortunes were paid out of the treasury. *Curius Dentatus* would not accept of the lands which the senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command those who were so. And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadours to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no

For I esteem those names of men so poor,  
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn

peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon : but was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation : And, as Mr. Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these (and some other like) examples of ancient virtue ; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them : but the greatest honour that poetry ever did them is here, by the praise of the Son of God. NEWTON.

Ver. 447. *For I esteem those names of men so poor,  
Who could do mighty things, &c.*] The author had here plainly Claudian in his mind. *De IV. Conf. Honor.* 412.

- “ Discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit ;
- “ Pauper erat Curius, cum reges vinceret armis ;
- “ Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum ; .
- “ Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator aratra ; &c.”

And again, *In Rufinum*, i. 200.

- “ Semper inops, quicunque cupit. Contentus honesto
- “ Fabricius parvo spernebat munera regum,
- “ Sudabátque gravi Consul Serranus aratro,
- “ Et casa pugnaces Curios angusta tegebat.
- “ Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior.”

It is probable that he remembered here some of his beloved republicans,

- “ those names of men so poor
- “ Who could do mighty things ;”

and it is possible that he might also think of himself, who

- “ could contemn
- “ Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings ;”

if that story be true of his having been offered to be Latin secretary to Charles the Second, and of his refusing it.

NEWTON.

Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings.  
 And what in me seems wanting, but that I 450  
 May also in this poverty as soon  
 Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?  
 Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,  
 The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt  
 To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge, 455  
 Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.  
 What if with like averſion I reject  
 Riches and realms? yet not, for that a crown,  
 Golden in ſhow, is but a wreath of thorns,

With the citation of "Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings," compare Plutarch, Life of Cicero: Καὶ ὥρα μὲν οὐδε ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΝΤΩΝ ἔλαβε. DUNSTER.

Ver. 453. *Extol not riches then, &c.*] Milton concludes this book, and our Saviour's reply to Satan, with a series of thoughts as noble and just, and as worthy of the speaker, as can possibly be imagined. I think one may venture to affirm, that, as the *Paradise Regained* is a poem entirely moral and religious, the excellency of which does not consist so much in bold figures and strong images, as in deep and virtuous sentiments expressed with a becoming gravity, and a certain decent majesty, this is as true an instance of the sublime, as the battles of the Angels in the *Paradise Lost*. THYER.

Ibid. ————— *the toil of fools,*  
*The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt*  
*To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge,*  
*Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.] Thus*  
 Juvenal, Sat. vi. 297.

"Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores  
 "Intulit, et turpi fregerunt sæcula luxu  
 "Divitiæ molles."

And see Spenser, *Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 12, 13. DUNSTER.

Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless  
nights,

460

To him who wears the regal diadem,  
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies ;  
For therein stands the office of a king,  
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,  
That for the publick all this weight he bears. 465

Ver. 463. *For therein stands the office of a king,*

*His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,*

*That for the publick all this weight he bears.]*

Milton, in the height of his political ardour, declared that he was not actuated "by hatred to kings, but only to tyrants." Neither is there any occasion to question the truth of his assertion ; but such was his apprehension of *monarchical* tyranny, that the current of his prejudices certainly ran very strongly in favour of a republican government. Even in one of his latest political publications, *The ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, he professes that "though there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, yet this rarely happens in a monarchy not elective ;" and, on this ground, he strongly remonstrates against the *risk* of admitting *Kingship*. The contest however was now completely over ; and our author, having seen the fallacy not only of his hopes, but also of his confidence in those persons, of whose consummate hypocrisy his ardent integrity had been the dupe, seems, in thus sketching out the laborious duties of a good and patriotick prince, to be somewhat more reconciled to kingly government. About this time also, seemingly under the same impression, he had proceeded in his *History*, and composed the fifth and sixth Books, in which we find no marks of any splenetick dislike to kings : on the contrary, many of the characters of our early monarchs are drawn not merely with an impartial hand, but often with a favourable one. The character of Alfred in particular is given with the most affectionate admiration, and is not without its resemblance to the compressed description of a good king in this place. See his *Hist. of Eng.* B. v. DUNSTER.



Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules  
 Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king ;  
 Which every wise and virtuous man attains ;  
 And who attains not, ill aspires to rule  
 Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes, 470  
 Subject himself to anarchy within,  
 Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.  
 But to guide nations in the way of truth  
 By saving doctrine, and from error lead  
 To know, and knowing worship God aright, 475

Ver. 466. *Yet he, who reigns within himself, &c.*] Such sentiments are inculcated not only by the philosophers, but also by the poets ; as Hor. *Od.* II. ii. 9.

“ Latius regnes avidum domando

“ Spiritum, &c.”

and see *Sat.* II. vii. 83. NEWTON.

“ The *Paradise Regained*,” Mr. Hayley very justly observes, “ is a poem that particularly deserves to be recommended to ardent and ingenuous youth, as it is admirably calculated to inspire *that spirit of self-command, which is, as Milton esteemed it, the truest heroism, and the triumph of Christianity.*” *Life of Milton*, p. 126. DUNSTER.

Ver. 471. *Subject himself to anarchy within,  
 Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.*] Palpably alluding to Charles the Second, and his dissolute manners. Compare *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 86, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 473. *But to guide nations in the way of truth  
 • By saving doctrine, and from error lead  
 To know, and knowing worship God aright, ;  
 Is yet more kingly ;*] In this speech concerning riches and realms, our poet has culled all the choicest, finest flowers out of the heathen poets and philosophers who have

Is yet more kingly ; this attracts the soul,  
 Governs the inner man, the nobler part ;  
 That other o'er the body only reigns,  
 And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,  
 So reigning, can be no sincere delight. 480  
 Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought  
 Greater and nobler done, and to lay down  
 Far more magnanimous, than to assume.

written upon these subjects. It is not so much their words, as their substance sublimed and improved. But here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher, as the life and character of our Blessed Saviour.

NEWTON.

Ver. 478. *That other o'er the body only reigns,  
 And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,  
 So reigning, can be no sincere delight.*] This is perfectly consonant to our Lord's early sentiments, as the poet describes him relating them in the first Book of this Poem, ver. 221, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 481. *Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought  
 Greater and nobler done, and to lay down  
 Far more magnanimous, than to assume.*] So He-phæstion to those who transferred the kingdom of Sidon from themselves to another. (Quint. Curt. IV. 1.) "Vos quidem magis virtute inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset, regnum fastidire quam accipere, &c." Dioclesian, Charles V. and others, who have resigned the crown, were perhaps in our author's thought, upon this occasion. For, as Seneca says, *Thyest.* III. 529.

"Habere regnum, casus est : virtus, dare." • NEWTON.

Possibly Milton had here in his mind the famous Christina queen of Sweden, who, after having reigned twenty-one years, resigned her crown to her cousin Charles Gustavus, when she was still a young woman, being only thirty years old. Our author

Riches are needfuls then, both for themselves,

had before paid her considerable compliments. The verses under Cromwell's picture, sent to Christina, have been generally supposed to be his: though Mr. Warton inclines to think they were written by Andrew Marvel, and adds that he suspects "Milton's habit of facility in elegiack Latinity had long ago ceased." What ground he had for this suspicion he does not specify, nor is it easy to conjecture. I should not willingly persuade myself that our author could soon lose any faculty which he had acquired. Besides, these verses must have been written before the year 1654, when Christina abdicated; and only nine years before that, when he published a collection of his Latin and English poems in 1645, he had added to his *seventh Elegy* ten lines which sufficiently show that he then perfectly retained his Elegiack Latinity; and why it should be supposed entirely to cease in eight or nine years more I cannot imagine. As Marvel was not his associate in the secretaryship till the year 1657, Milton has officially the best claim to them. It was also an employment which, we may well suppose, he was fond of, as at this time he certainly thought highly of Christina, and was particularly flattered with the idea that, on reading his *Defensio Populi*, she withdrew all her protection from his antagonist Salmasius, who was then resident at her court, and whom, it was then said, she dismissed with contempt, as a parasite and an advocate of tyranny. Accordingly, in his *Defensio secunda*, Milton honours her with a most splendid panegyrick; and in appealing to her that he had no determined prejudices against kings, nor any wish wantonly to attack their rights, he particularly congratulates himself upon having a witness of his integrity *tan vere regiam*. The expression is sufficiently obvious and hackneyed in the flattery of royalty, but it is well worth observing, when it comes from one who so seldom sings in that strain. It may also be noticed here, as we trace a resemblance of it in some of the preceding lines, where our author having said that in the laborious and disinterested discharge of magistracy consists the real and proper "office of a king," proceeds to ascribe a superiour degree of royalty, or the most distinguished

And for thy reason why they should be fought,

eminence, to him who is duly practised in the habit of self-command;

“ Yet he who reigns within himself and rules

“ Passions, desires, and fears, is *more a king* ;”

and still more to him who conscientiously labours for the well-doing and well-being of mankind at large, by the zealous propagation of truth and pure unadulterated religion ;

“ But to guide nations in the way of truth

“ By saving doctrine, and from error lead

“ To know, and knowing worship God aright,

“ Is yet *more kingly* .”

Milton it appears however was rather unfortunate in his selection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time. Mr. Warton, in his note on the Verses to Christina, collects many curious anecdotes of her improprieties and absurdities : and Harte, the English historian of Gustavus Adolphus, terms her “an unaccountable woman ; reading much, yet not extremely learned ; a collector and critick in the fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and forming conclusions without taste ; affecting pomp, and rendering herself a beggar ; fond to receive servile dependance, yet divesting herself of the means ; paying court to the most serious christians, and making profession of little less than atheism.” But our author saw only the bright side of her character, and considered her as a learned, pious, patriotick, disinterested princess. DUNSTER.

See further information, drawn from indisputable authority, relating to the extraordinary Christina, in my note on the Poet's *Verses to her*. TODD.

Ver. 482. ————— and to lay down

*Far more magnanimous, than to assume.*] We may rather trace Milton here to Macrobius, than to the passage cited in a preceding note, from Q. Curtius by Dr. Newton. “ Quid ? quod duas virtutes, quæ inter nobiles quoque unice claræ sunt, in uno video fuisse mancipio, imperium regendi peritiam et *imperium contemnendi magnanimitatem*. Anaxilaus enim Messenius,

To gain a scepter, ofttest better mis's'd.'

qui Messanam in Sicilia condidit, fuit Rheginorum tyrannus. Is, cum parvos relinqueret liberos, Micitho servo suo commendasse contentus est. Is tutelam sancte gessit; imperiumque tam clementer obtinuit, ut Rhegini a servo regi non dedignarentur. Perductus deinde in ætatem pueris et bona et imperium tradidit. Ipse parvo viatico sumpto profectus est; et Olympiæ cum summa tranquillitate consenuit." *Saturnal.* i. 11. DUNSTER.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.



THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE REGAINED.





## THE ARGUMENT.

*Satan, in a speech of much flattering commendation, endeavours to awaken in Jesus a passion for glory, by particularising various instances of conquests achieved, and great actions performed, by persons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by showing the vanity of worldly fame, and the improper means by which it is generally attained; and contrasts with it the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wisdom, as exemplified in the character of Job. Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it from all his creatures. Jesus detects the fallacy of this argument, by showing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator of all things, sinful Man can have no right whatever to it.—Satan then urges our Lord respecting his claim to the throne of David: he tells him that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got possession of without much personal exertion on his part, and presses him to lose no time in beginning to reign. Jesus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things; and, after intimating somewhat respecting his own previous sufferings, asks Satan, why he should be so solicitous for the exaltation of one, whose rising was destined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own desperate state, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear; and that, as his own punishment was equally doomed, he is not interested in preventing the reign of one, from whose apparent benevolence he might rather hope for some interference in his favour.—Satan still pursues his former incitements; and, supposing that the seeming reluctance of Jesus to be thus advanced might arise from his being un-*

## THE ARGUMENT.

*acquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the summit of a high mountain, and from thence shows him most of the kingdoms of Asia, particularly pointing out to his notice some extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to resist the incursions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord, that he showed him this purposely that he might see how necessary military exertions are to retain the possession of kingdoms, as well as to subdue them at first; and advises him to consider how impossible it was to maintain Judea against two such powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how necessary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the same time he recommends, and engages to secure to him, that of the Parthians; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from any thing that Rome or Caesar might attempt against it, and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and especially to accomplish, what was particularly necessary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and restoration of the ten tribes, still in a state of captivity. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts and the weakness of the arm of flesh, says, that when the time comes for ascending his allotted throne he shall not be slack: he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Israelites, to whom he had always showed himself an enemy, and declares their servitude to be the consequence of their idolatry; but adds, that at a future time it may perhaps please God to recall them, and restore them to their liberty and native land.*

# PARADISE REGAINED.

## BOOK III.

SO spake the Son of God ; and Satan stood  
A while, as mute, confounded what to say,  
What to reply, confuted, and convinc'd  
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift ;  
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles,      5  
With soothing words renew'd him thus accosts.

I see thou know'st what is of use to know,  
What best to say canst say, to do canst do ;  
Thy actions to thy words accord ; thy words 9  
To thy large heart give utterance due ; thy heart  
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.

Ver. 11. — *of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.*] Milton, no doubt, by the word *shape* intended to express the meaning of the Greek *ἰδέα*, but in my opinion it does not at all come up to it, and seems rather harsh and inelegant. There are words in all languages, which cannot well be translated without losing much of their beauty, and even some of their meaning ; of this sort I take the word *idea* to be. Tully renders it by the word *species* with as little success as Milton has done here by his English *shape*. THYER.

I should rather think it expressed from the *perfecta forma honestatis*, and the *forma ipsa honesti* of Cicero. *De Fin.* ii. 15.

Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,  
 Thy counsel would be as the oracle  
 Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems  
 On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old 15  
 Infallible: Or wert thou fought to deeds  
 That might require the array of war, thy skill  
 Of conduct would be such, that all the world  
 Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist  
 In battle, though against thy few in arms. 20  
 These God-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,  
 Affecting private life, or more obscure  
 In savage wilderness? Wherefore deprive  
 All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself  
 The fame and glory; glory, the reward 25

“Habes undique expletam et perfectam, Torquate, formam honestatis, &c.” De Off. i. 5. “Formam quidem ipsam, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem honesti vides; quæ, si oculis cerneatur, &c.” And the more, because he renders *forma* by *shape* in the *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 848.

“Virtue in her *shape* how lovely.” NEWTON.

Milton was also fond of this phrase. See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 848. TODD.

Ver. 15. ————— or tongue of seers old

*Infallible*:] The poet by mentioning this after *Urim* and *Thummim* seems to allude to the opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first temple by the prophets. See Prideaux's *Connect.* Part i. Book iii.

NEWTON.

Ver. 25. ————— glory, the reward] Our Saviour having withstood the allurement of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus con-

That sole excites to high attempts, the flame  
Of most erected spirits, most temper'd pure  
Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,  
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,

necting these two temptations from Spenfer, who, in his second Book of the *Faery Queen*, representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches, or *Mammon's delve* as he terms it, and immediately after to the palace of glory, which he describes, in his allegorical manner, under the figure of a beautiful woman called *Philotimè*. **THYER.**

Ver. 26. ————— *the flame*

*Of most erected spirits,]* Silius Ital. vi. 332.

————— “ *Fax mentis honestæ*

“ *Gloria.*” **DUNSTER.**

Ver. 27. *Of most erected spirits,]* The Author here remembered Cicero; *Pro Archia*. “*Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.*” *De Off.* i. 8. In maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plurumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates.” **NEWTON.**

*Erected spirits* is a classical phrase. “*Magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbit inimicis, nec fortunæ quidem.*” Cicero, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, 13. And Seneca, *Epist.* ix. “*Ad hoc enim multis illi rebus opus est, ad illud tantum animo suno, et erecto, et despiciente fortunam.*”

It occurs likewise in *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 679.

“*Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell*

“*From Heaven.*” **DUNSTER.**

Compare Sidney's *Arcadia*, ed. 1655, p. 5. “*Having found in him a minde of most excellent composition, a piercing wit quite void of ostentation, high erected thoughts seated in a heart of courtesie, &c.*” And compare also the *Lycidas* of our author, with the passage before us, ver. 70, &c. as noted by Mr. Warton.

**TODD.**

Ver. 28. ————— *who all pleasures else despise,*

*All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,]* Thus

And dignities and powers all but the highest? 30  
 Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe; the son  
 Of Macedonian Philip had ere these  
 Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held  
 At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down  
 The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd  
 The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode. 36

Spenser, in the conclusion of his *Hymn of Heavenly Love*;

“ Thenceforth all world’s desires will in thee die,

“ And all earth’s glory, on which men do gaze,

“ *Seem dirt and dross* in thy pure-sighted eye.”

And Milton again, in his *Verses on Time*:

“ Which is no more than what is false and vain,

“ And merely mortal *dross*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 31. *Thy years &c.*] Our Saviour’s Temptation was soon after his Baptism; and he was baptized when he was *about thirty years of age*, Luke, iii. 23. Alexander was but twenty years old, when he began to reign; and in a few years he overturned the Persian Empire, which was founded by Cyrus: Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age. Scipio Africanus was no more than twenty-four years old, when he was sent Proconsul into Spain. He was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine, when, being chosen Consul before the usual time, he transferred the war into Africa. NEWTON.

Ver. 34. *At his dispose*;) Shakspeare writes *dispose* for *disposal*, K. John, A. i. S. iii. “ Needs must you lay your heart at his *dispose*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 35. ———— *young Pompey quell’d*

*The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode.*] In this instance our author is not so exact as in the rest; for when Pompey was sent to command the war in Asia against Mithridates king of Pontus, he was above forty, but had signalized himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honour of two triumphs before that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the same year; and the Manilian law,

Yet years, and to ripe years judgement mature,  
 Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.  
 Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,  
 The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd 40  
 With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long  
 Inglorious: But thou yet art not too late.

To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied.  
 Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth

which gave the command in Asia to Pompey, was propos'd when Cicero was in the forty-first year of his age. But no wonder that Milton was mistaken in point of time, when several of the Ancients were. Plutarch, speaking of Pompey's three memorable triumphs over the three parts of the world, his first over Africa, his second over Europe, and this last over Asia, says, that as for his age, those who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the Great, would not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at this time he was near forty. See *Plut. Vit. Pompeii*. NEWTON.

Ver. 41. ——— wept that he had liv'd so long

*Inglorious:*] Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that, one day reading the History of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears, and his friends wondring at the reason of it, Do you not think, said he, I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable? See Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*. Others say, it was at the sight of an image of Alexander the Great. See Suetonii *Jul. Cæs.* Cap. 7. NEWTON.

"Inglorious" here is Virgil's *inglorious*, i. e. insensible to the charms of glory, *Georg.* ii. 485.

"Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;

"Flumina amem sylvæque *inglorius*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 44. *Thou neither dost persuade me &c.*] How admirably does Milton in this speech expose the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character, and found true glory upon its only sure

For empire's sake, nor empire to affect 45  
 For glory's sake, by all thy argument.  
 For what is glory but the blaze of fame,  
 'The people's praise, if always praise unmix'd ?  
 And what the people but a herd confus'd,  
 A miscellaneous rabble who extol 50  
 Things vulgar, and, well weigh'd, scarce worth  
 the praise ?

basis, the approbation of the God of truth ! There is a remarkable dignity of sentiment runs quite through it; and I think it will be no extravagance to assert, that he has comprised in this short compass the substance and quintessence of a subject which has exercised the pens of the greatest moralists in all ages.

THYER.

Ver. 48. *The people's praise, &c.*] We may compare with this and some of the following lines the 31st stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death* :

“ Frail multitude ! whose giddy law is list,  
 “ And best applause is windy flattering,  
 “ Most like the breath of which it doth consist,  
 “ No sooner blown, but as soon vanishing,  
 “ As much desir'd, as little profiting,  
 “ That makes the men that have it oft as light  
 “ As those that give it.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 49. *And what the people but a herd confus'd,  
 A miscellaneous rabble who extol  
 Things vulgar, &c.*] These lines are certainly no proof of a democrattick disposition in our author. DUNSTER.

No. And I think it not improbable that Burke, who loved the poetry of Milton, might have borrowed from this passage the hint of his well known expression ; against which less clamour would have been raised, if the *herd confus'd* and the *miscellaneous rabble* of a professed republican had been, as they ought to have been, remembered. TODD.



They praise, and they admire, they know not what,  
 And know not whom, but as one leads the other;  
 And what delight to be by such extoll'd,  
 'To live upon their tongues, and be their talk, 55  
 Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise?  
 His lot who dares be singularly good.  
 The intelligent among them and the wife  
 Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.  
 'This is true glory and renown, when God 60

Ver. 56. *Of whom to be disprais'd*] Tickell and Fenton corruptly read, after Tonson's editions of 1707 and 1711, "Of whom to be *despis'd*." The genuine reading is restored in Tonson's edit. of 1747. The apparent play upon words may be countenanced, as Mr. Dunster also observes, by Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, A. v. S. last.

"And not *dispraising* whom we *prais'd*, began  
 "His mistress' picture." TODD.

Ver. 57. *His lot who dares be singularly good.*] Dr. Newton conjectures that Milton might here allude to himself, "who *dared* to be as singular in his opinions and in his conduct as *any* man whatever."—But the language of the poet in this place is perhaps only classical, as it might well have been suggested by Horace, *Ep.* I. ii. 40.

—————"Sapere aude;  
 "Incipe; *vivendi recte* qui prorogat horam,  
 "Rusticus expectat dum defluit annis." DUNSTER.

Ver. 59. ——— *and glory scarce of few is rais'd.*] "*Gloriam* latius fufam intelligo; *consensum enim multorum* exigit. Quid interfit inter claritatem et gloriam dicam; gloria *multorum judicium* constat, claritas bonorum." Senec. *Epist.* 102. DUNSTER.

Ver. 60. *This is true glory and renown, &c.*] Here is a glory that is solid and substantial, *expressu*, as Tully says, *non adumbrata*; and that will endure, when all the records and memorials of human pride are perished. CALTON.

Where glory is false glory, attributed  
 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.  
 They err, who count it glorious to subdue 71  
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run  
 Large countries, and in field great battles win,  
 Great cities by assault : What do these worthies,  
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave 75

Ver. 69. *Where glory is false glory, attributed*

*To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.]* True glory, Tully says, is the praise of good men, the echo of virtue : but that ape of glory, the random injudicious applause of the multitude, is often bestowed upon the worst of actions. “ Est enim gloria solida quædam res et expressa, non adumbrata : ea est contentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox benè judicantium de eccellente virtute : ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago :—illa autem, quæ se ejus imitatricem esse vult, temeraria atque inconsiderata, et plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popularis, simulatione honestatis formam ejus pulcritudinemque corrumpit. Qua cæcitate homines, cum quædam etiam præclara cuperent, eaque nescirent, nec ubi nec qualia essent, funditus alii everterunt suas civitates, alii ipsi occiderunt.” *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 2. When Tully wrote his Tusculan Disputations, Julius Cæsar had overturned the constitution of his country, and was then in the height of his power ; and Pompey had lost his life in the same pursuit of glory. CALTON.

Ver. 71. *They err, who count it glorious to subdue*

*By conquest far and wide, &c.]* Here might be an allusion intended to LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, who at this time began to disturb Europe, and whose vanity and ambition were gratified by titles, such as are here mentioned, from his numerous parasites. We may here compare *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 691, &c. And again, ver. 789, &c. of the same Book. DUNSTER.

Ver. 74. ————— *what do these worthies,*

*But rob and spoil, &c. &c.]* Thus Drummond, in his *Shadow of the Judgment* ;

Where glory is false glory, attributed  
 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.  
 They err, who count it glorious to subdue 71  
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run  
 Large countries, and in field great battles win,  
 Great cities by assault : What do these worthies,  
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*But rob and spoil, &c. &c.]* Thus Drummond, in his *Shadow of the Judgment* ;

Peaceable nations, neighbouring, or remote,  
 Made captive, yet deserving freedom more  
 Than those their conquerours, who leave behind  
 Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,  
 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy; so  
 Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,  
 Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,  
 Worshipt with temple, priest, and sacrifice?

“ All live on earth by *spoil* :

“ Who most can ravage, *rob*, ranfack, blaspheme,

“ Is held most virtuous, hath a *worthy's* name.”

Milton's description of the ravages of conquerours may have been copied from some of the accounts of the barbarous nations that invaded Rome. Ovid describes the Getæ thus *spoiling, robbing, slaying, enslaving, and burning*, Trist. III. El. x. 55, &c.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 78. ————— *who leave behind*

*Nothing but ruin*] Thus, Joel, ii. 3. “ The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and *behind them a desolate wilderness.*” And Gray, in his *Bard*, has a similar description finely expressed, where he speaks of the conquests of Edward the Black Prince in France.

————— “ What terrours round him wait !

“ Amazement in his van, with Flight combin'd,

“ And Sorrow's faded form, and Solitude behind.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 81. ————— *and must be titled Gods,*

*Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,*] The second Antiochus king of Syria was called Antiochus Θεός, or *the God* : and the learned author De Epoch. Syro. Macedonum, p. 109, speaks of a coin of Epiphanes inscribed Θεῷ Ἐπιφάνους. The Athenians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, the titles of *Εὐεργέται*, *Benefactors*, and *Σωτῆρες*, *Deliverers*.

CALTON.

One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;  
 Till conquerour Death discover them scarce men,  
 Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd, 86  
 Violent or shameful death their due reward.  
 But if there be in glory aught of good,  
 It may by means far different be attain'd,  
 Without ambition, war, or violence ; 90  
 By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,  
 By patience, temperance : I mention still  
 Him, whom thy wrongs, with faintly patience  
 borne,

Ver. 84. *One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;*] Alexander is particularly intended by the one, and Romulus by the other, who, though better than Alexander, founded his empire in the blood of his brother, and for his over-grown tyranny was at last destroyed by his own senate. NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,*] Thus, in *Comus*, ver. 77. “ To roll with pleasure in a sensual stye.” To roll in vice is a mode of expression frequently used by Cicero. “ In domesticis est germanitatis stupris volutatis.” Oratio *De Haruspici. Responf.* 20. “ Quis umquam nepos tam libere est cum scortis, quam hic cum fororibus volutatus ?” Ibid. 27.—“ cum omnes in omni genere et scelorum et flagitiorum volutentur.” Epist. Ad. Familiar. ix. 3. “ Non jusjurandum reliquisti ? non amicos prodidisti ? non parenti manus intulisti ? non denique in omni dedecore volutatus es ?” Ad Herenn. iv. 19. DUNSTER.

Milton's expression bears a stronger resemblance to the following passage in G. Wither's *Speculum, or Considering-Glass*, 1660, p. 69.

————— “ without controul  
 “ They might in brutish lusts at pleasure roul.” TODD.

Ver. 92. *By patience, temperance :*] In allusion to St. Peter's combination, II *Pet.* i. 6. “ Add to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience.” TODD.

Made famous in a land and times obscure ;  
 Who names not now with honour patient Job ? 95  
 Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable ?)  
 By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing,  
 For truth's sake suffering death, unjust, lives now  
 Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.  
 Yet if for fame and glory aught be done, 100  
 Aught suffer'd ; if young African for fame  
 His wasted country freed from Punick rage ;  
 The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,  
 And loses, though but verbal, his reward.  
 Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek, 105  
 Oft not deserv'd ? I seek not mine, but his  
 Who sent me ; and thereby witness whence I am.

Ver. 96. *Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable ?)*

*By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing,*

*For truth's sake suffering death, unjust, lives now*

*Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.]* Milton here

does not scruple, with Erasmus, to place Socrates in the foremost rank of Saints ; an opinion more amiable at least, and agreeable to that spirit of love which breathes in the Gospel, than the severe orthodoxy of those rigid textuaries, who are unwilling to allow salvation to the moral virtues of the Heathen. THYER.

Milton's fine and just encomium may make ample amends to the old Athenian for the illiberal abuse, which Boileau has thought fit to throw on him in his twelfth Satire, ver. 150.

JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 101. ———— *if young African for fame*

*His wasted country freed from Punick rage ;]* This

shows plainly that he had spoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus ; for he only can be said with propriety to have *freed his wasted country from Punick rage*, by transferring the war into Spain and Africa, after the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the second Punick war. NEWTON.

To whom the Tempter murmuring thus replied.  
 Think not so slight of glory ; therein least  
 Resembling thy great Father: He seeks glory, 110  
 And for his glory all things made, all things  
 Orders and governs ; nor content in Heaven  
 By all his Angels glorified, requires  
 Glory from men, from all men, good or bad,  
 Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption ; 115  
 Above all sacrifice, or hallow'd gift,  
 Glory he requires, and glory he receives,  
 Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,  
 Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd ;  
 From us, his foes pronounc'd, glory he exacts. 120

To whom our Saviour fervently replied.  
 And reason ; since his Word all things produc'd,  
 Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,

Ver. 109. *Think not so slight of glory ;*] There is nothing throughout the whole poem more expressive of the true character of the Tempter than this reply. There is in it all the real falsehood of *the father of lies*, and the glozing subtlety of an insidious deceiver. The argument is false and unsound, and yet it is veiled over with a certain plausible air of truth. The poet has also, by introducing this, furnished himself with an opportunity of explaining that great question in divinity, why God created the world, and what is meant by that glory which he expects from his creatures. This may be no improper place to observe to the reader the author's great art in weaving into the body of so short a work so many grand points of the Christian theology and morality. THYER.

Ver. 118. *Promiscuous from all nations,*] The poet puts here into the mouth of the Devil the absurd notions of the apologists for Paganism. See Themistius, *Orat. xii. de Relig. Valent. Imp.* p. 160. WARBURTON.

But to shew forth his goodnefs, and impart  
 His good communicable to every foul 125  
 Freely ; of whom what could he lefs expect  
 Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,  
 The flightest, eafiest, readiest recompence  
 From them who could return him nothing elfe,  
 And, not returning that, would likeliest render  
 Contempt inftead, difhonour, obloquy ? 131  
 Hard recompence, unfuitable return  
 For fo much good, fo much beneficence !  
 But why fhould Man feek glory, who of his own  
 Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs, 135  
 But condemnation, ignominy, and fhame ?  
 Who, for fo many benefits receiv'd,  
 Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and falfe,

Ver. 128. *The flightest, eafiest, readiest recompence*] The faine-  
 fentiment occurs in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, B. iv. 46.

“ What could be lefs than to afford him praife,

“ The eafieſt recompence, and pay him thanks ?

“ How due !” NEWTON.

Ver. 130. *And, not returning that,*] Here again Tickell and Fenton follow the corrupt reading of Tonſon's edit. of 1707 and 1711, “ And, not returning *what*,” which, as Dr. Newton obſerves, ſpoils the ſenſe ; and which he and Mr. Thyer corrected in their copies before they had ſeen the firſt edition. But the genuine reading had been before reſtored in Tonſon's edit. of 1747, 12mo. TODD.

Ver. 138. ——— *recreant*] See Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, ii. vi. 28. “Thou *recreant* knight,” to which Mr. Dunſter refers ; where Mr. Warton has obſerved that “*recreant knight*” is a term of romance ; and cites the following paſſage from the *Morte d'Arthur*. “Then ſaid the knight to the king, thou art in my daunger whether me lyſt to ſave thee or to ſley thee ; and, but



And so of all true good himself despoil'd ;  
 Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take 140  
 That which to God alone of right belongs :  
 Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,  
 That who advance his glory, not their own,  
 Them he himself to glory will advance.

So spake the Son of God ; and here again 145  
 Satan had not to answer, but stood struck  
 With guilt of his own sin ; for he himself,  
 Infatiable of glory, had lost all ;  
 Yet of another plea bethought him soon.

Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem ; 150  
 Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.

thou yield thee as overcome and *recreant*, thou shalt dye. As for death, said king Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh ; but as to yield me to thee as *recreant*, &c." The phrase means not only one who yields himself to his enemy in single combat, but a coward and a traitor. See Du Cange, in *Voc. Recredentia* and *Recreditus*. TODD.

Ver. 138. ————— ingrate and false,] Referring perhaps to his *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 97.

————— " *Ingrate*, he had of me  
 " All he could have." TODD.

Ver. 151. *Worth or not worth the seeking*,] In all the editions which I have seen, except the first, it is printed "Worth or not worth *their* seeking;" but, not knowing to whom *their* could refer, I imagined it should be "Worth or not worth *thy* seeking;" but the first edition exhibits this reading, "Worth or not worth *the* seeking," as Mr. Sympton proposed to read by conjecture. NEWTON.

This genuine reading is restored in Toulson's edition of 1747, in 12mo. The correctness of this edition makes it very valuable. TODD.

But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd  
 To sit upon thy father David's throne,  
 By mother's side thy father ; though thy right  
 Be now in powerful hands, that will not part 155  
 Easily from possession won with arms :  
 Judæa now and all the Promis'd Land,  
 Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,  
 Obeys Tiberius ; nor is always rul'd  
 With temperate sway ; oft have they violated 160  
 The temple, oft the law, with foul affronts,  
 Abominations rather, as did once  
 Antiochus : And think'st thou to regain  
 Thy right, by sitting still, or thus retiring ?

Ver. 158. *Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,*] Judæa was reduced to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quirinius, or Cyrenius, then governor of Syria ; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was appointed to govern it, under the title of Procurator. NEWTON.

Ver. 159. ——— *nor is always rul'd*  
*With temperate sway ;*] The Roman government indeed was not always the most temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa, and, it appears from history, was a most corrupt and flagitious governour. See particularly Philo, *de Legatione ad Caium*. NEWTON.

And Josephus speaks of the murders committed on the Jews by Pilate, *Antiq. Jud.* L. xviii. C. v. DUNSTER.

Ver. 160. ——— *oft have they violated*  
*The temple, &c.*] Pompey, with several of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, except the high-priest alone, once in a year, on the great day of expiation. Antiochus Epiphanes had before been guilty of a similar profanation. See *II Maccab.* C. v.

NEWTON.

So did not Maccabeus : he indeed 165  
 Retir'd unto the defart, but with arms ;  
 And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,  
 That by strong hand his family obtain'd,  
 Though priests, the crown, and David's throne  
 usurp'd,  
 With Modin and her suburbs once content. 170  
 If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal  
 And duty ; zeal and duty are not flow,  
 But on occasion's forelock watchful wait :

Ver. 165. *So did not Maccabeus : &c.*] The Tempter had noticed the profanation of the temple by the Romans, as well as that by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria ; and now he would infer, that Jesus was to blame for not vindicating his country against the one, as *Judas Maccabeus* had done against the other. He fled indeed into the wilderness from the persecutions of Antiochus, but there he took up arms against him, and obtained so many victories over his forces, that he recovered the city and sanctuary out of their hands, and his family was in his brother Jonathan advanced to the high priesthood, and in his brother Simon to the principality, and so they continued for several descents sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation till the time of Herod the Great : though their father Mattathias, (the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Asmoneans,) was no more than a priest of the course of Joarib, and dwelt at Modin, which is famous for nothing so much as being the country of the Maccabees. See *I Maccab.* Josephus, Prideaux, &c.

NEWTON.

Ver. 171. *If kingdom move thee not,*] *Kingdom* here, like *regnum* in Latin, signifies *kingly state*, the *circumstances of regal power* ; or, as our author in his political works writes, *kingship*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 173. *But on occasion's forelock watchful wait :*] Spenser personifies *Occasion*, as an old hag, with a grey forelock, *Faer. Qu. ii. iv. 4.* Spenser likewise, *Sonnet 70*, gives *Time* the same

'They themselves rather are occasion best ;  
 Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free 175  
 'Thy country from her Heathen servitude.  
 So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify  
 The Prophets old, who sung thy endless reign ;  
 The happier reign, the sooner it begins : 179  
 Reign then ; what canst thou better do the while ?

To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.  
 All things are best fulfill'd in their due time ;  
 And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.  
 If of my reign prophetick Writ hath told,  
 That it shall never end, so, when begin, 185  
 The Father in his purpose hath decreed ;  
 He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.  
 What if he hath decreed that I shall first  
 Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,

forelock. Shakspere, in his *Othello*, has “ To take the safest *occasion by the front*.” The Greek and Latin poets also describe occasion, i. e. *time* or *opportunity*, “ with a forelock.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 175. *Zeal of thy father's house,*] *Psalms* lxi. 9. “ For the *zeal of thine house* hath eaten me up ;” which passage is applied in the New Testament (*John*, ii. 17.) to the zeal by our Lord for the honour of his Father's house, when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple. DUNSTER.

Ver. 183. *And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.*] “ To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the Heaven.” *Ecclesi.* iii. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 187. *He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.*] “ It is not for you to know the *times and the seasons*, which the Father hath put in his own power.” *Acts* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 189. *Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,*] *Sil.* Ital. iv. 605. “ *Explorant adversa viros.*” DUNSTER.

By tribulations, injuries, insults, 190  
 Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,  
 Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,  
 Without distrust or doubt, that he may know  
 What I can suffer, how obey? Who best  
 Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first 195  
 Well hath obey'd; just trial, ere I merit  
 My exaltation without change or end.  
 But what concerns it thee, when I begin  
 My everlasting kingdom? Why art thou  
 Solicitous? What moves thy inquisition? 200  
 Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,  
 And my promotion will be thy destruction?

To whom the Tempter, inly rack'd, replied.  
 Let that come when it comes; all hope is lost  
 Of my reception into grace: what worse? 205  
 For where no hope is left, is left no fear:

Ver. 195. ————— *best reign, who first*

*Well hath obey'd;*] Here probably the author remembered Cicero. “Qui bene imperat, paruerit aliquando necesse est; et qui modeste paret, videtur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus esse.” *De Leg.* iii. 2. The same sentiment occurs in Aristotle, *Polit.* iii. 4, vii. 14; and in Plato, *De Leg.* vi. as Urfinus and Davies have noted. NEWTON.

Ver. 201. *Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,*] Alluding to the rising and setting of opposite stars. Milton, in the first Book of this Poem, terms our Lord “our Morning-star, then in his rise.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 206. *For where no hope is left, is left no fear:*] Milton here, and in some of the following verses, plainly alludes to part of Satan's fine soliloquy, in the beginning of the fourth Book of the *Paradise Lost*;

If there be worfe, the expectation more  
 Of worfe torments me than the feeling can,  
 I would be at the worft; worft is my port,  
 My harbour, and my ultimate repofe : 210  
 The end I would attain, my final good.  
 My error was my error, and my crime  
 My crime; whatever, for itfelf condemn'd;  
 And will alike be punifh'd, whether thou 214  
 Reign, or reign not; though to that gentle brow  
 Willingly could I fly, and hope thy reign,  
 From that placid afpéct and meek regard,  
 Rather than aggravate my evil ftate,  
 Would ftand between me and thy Father's ire,

“ So farewell hope, and, with hope, farewell fear !

“ Farewell remorse ! All good to me is loft :

“ Evil, be thou my good !” THYER.

Ver. 217. *From that placid afpéct*] Spenser, Shakspeare, and the poets of that time, I believe, uniformly wrote *afpéct* thus accented on the fecond fyllable; as Milton has likewise always done in his *Paradise Loft*. I cannot forbear citing one inftance on account of the exquisite beauty of the paffage. It is a fimilar defcription of the fame Divine Perfon, who had juft been offering himfelf a ranfom for man, B. iii. 266.

“ His words here ended, but his *meek afpéct*

“ Silent yet fpake, and breath'd immortal love

“ To mortall man.”

And Vida makes Mary, in her Lamentation at the foot of the crofs, particularly refer to our Lord's *placid*, or *meek*, afpéct, *Chrift*. v. 860.

“ Heu ! quem te, nate, afpicio ? Tuane ille *ferena*

“ *Luce magis facies afpectu grata* ?” DUNSTER.

Ver. 219. *Would ftand between me and thy Father's ire,*] Milton in his Ode *On the death of a fair infant*, has a fimilar

(Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell,) 220

A shelter, and a kind of shading cool

Interposition, as a summer's cloud.

If I then to the worst that can be haste,

Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,

Happiest, both to thyself and all the world, 225

That thou, who worthiest art, should'st be their  
king?

Perhaps thou linger'st, in deep thoughts detain'd

Of the enterprize so hazardous and high;

No wonder; for, though in thee be united

What of perfection can in man be found, 230

Or human nature can receive, consider,

Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent

At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,

And once a year Jerusalem, few days'

expression, ft. x. "To stand 'twixt us and *our deserved smart*?" DUNSTER.

In both instances the poet alludes to the Sacred Writings. See *Numb.* xvi. 48, *Psal.* cvi. 23. *Wisdom of Sol.* xviii. 23. TODD.

Ver. 221. ————— a kind of shading cool

*Interposition, as a summer's cloud.*] In the 25th chapter of Isaiah, as Mr. Dunster also observes, the prophet, addressing God, terms him "a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat." And, in the next verse, the interposition of God is illustrated by the simile which the poet uses. "Thou shalt bring down the noise of strangers, as the heat in a dry place; even the heat *with the shadow of a cloud.*" TODD.

Ver. 234. *And once a year Jerusalem,*] At the feast of the passover. *Luke*, ii. 41. NEWTON.

Short sojourn ; and what thence could'st thou  
observe ? 235

The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,  
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,  
Best school of best experience, quickest insight  
In all things that to greatest actions lead.

The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever 240

Timorous and loth, with novice modesty,  
(As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom,)

Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous :

But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit  
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes 245

The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and state ;  
Sufficient introduction to inform

Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,

And regal mysteries ; that thou may'st know

How best their opposition to withstand. 250

With that, (such power was given him then,)  
he took

The Son of God up to a mountain high.

Ver. 238. ———— *quickest insight*] In all the editions, and indeed in Milton's own, it is printed "*quickest insight*:" but we cannot but think it an error of the writer or printer, and prefer the emendation which Mr. Theobald, Mr. Meadowcourt, and Mr. Thyer, have, unknown to each other, proposed, viz. "*quickest insight*." NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 had already made the emendation of "*quickest insight*." TODD.

Ver. 242. (*As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom,*)] Saul.  
See 1 Sam. ix. 20, 21. NEWTON.



It was a mountain at whose verdant feet  
 A spacious plain, outstretch'd in circuit wide,  
 Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flow'd, 255  
 The one winding, the other straight, and left  
 between

Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,  
 Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea:

Ver. 253. *It was a mountain &c.*] The length of Mr. Dunster's important note on this passage, obliges me to transfer it to the end of the book. TODD.

Ver. 256. *The one winding, the other straight,*] Dr. Newton and Mr. Dunster observe, that Strabo describes the Euphrates passing through the country with a *winding stream*, ΣΚΟΛΙΩ ΤΩ ΠΕΙΘΡΩ, lib. xi. p. 521; and hence it is called "*ragus Euphrates*" by Statius, and *flexuosus* by Martianus Capella. With the same accuracy the Tigris is here termed *straight*, being described as swift in its course, as an arrow: "Unde concitatur à celeritate, *Tigris* incipit vocari: *Ita appellant Medi sagittam*," Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 27. And Dionysius calls it *πεταμῶν ὠκιστος πάντων*, *Perieg.* v. 804. TODD.

Ver. 257. ———— *with less rivers intervein'd,*] Quintus Curtius, having spoken of the great fertility of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, adds, "*Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter xenus aquarum refudante.*" L. v. C. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 258. *Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea:*] Strabo describes these two rivers, after having encircled Mesopotamia, joining their streams near Babylon, and flowing into the Persian Gulph, L. xi. p. 521. DUNSTER.

Milton here adorns his geographical exactness with a phrase from his beloved poetry, *Gier. Lab.* c. xv. st. 16.

"Poi Damiate scopre: e come porte

"*Al mar tributo di celesti humori*

"*Per sette il Nilo sue famose porte.*" TODD.

Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine ;  
 With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks  
                     the hills ; 260  
 Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might seem

Ver. 259. *Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine ;*] See *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 18, and Ovid, *Amor.* II. xvi. 19. Dr. Newton, conceiving this description of the fertility of the country to refer only or principally to Mesopotamia, cites the following passage from Dionysius, as copied here by Milton. The geographical poet had been speaking of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Οὐ μὲν τοι κείνης γε νομὸς ἀνόσσατο βότης,  
 Οἷδ' ἔστι σύριγγι κερώνυχᾳ Πᾶνα γεραίων,  
 Μήλοισι ἀργαύλοισιν ἐφέσπειλαι· ἐδὲ μὲν ὕλην  
 Παντοίην φυτοεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἀθερίσσατο κάρπων.

Quintus Curtius likewise notices the peculiar fertility of the “fair champain,” between the two rivers. “Inter Tigrim et Euphratem jacentia tam uberi et pingui solo sunt, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat,” L. v. 1. And Strabo terms Mesopotamia εὐβοτος χώρα, καὶ ἐνεργής, a country *abounding in pastures and rich vegetation*, L. xvi. p. 747. But the greater part of this “large prospect,” at least of those countries which lay east of Mesopotamia as far as India, is well entitled to this description of fertility, either considered figurative, or literal ; as both ancient and modern accounts combine to show. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *Huge cities and high-tower'd,*] So also in the *Allegro*, v. 117. “*Tower'd cities please us then.*” *Turritæ urbes* is very common amongst the Latin poets. THYER.

Εὐπυργος πόλις is no less common with the Greek authors. Thus Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* v. 270.

———— Παρὰ δ' ΕΥΠΥΡΓΟΣ πόλις ἀνδρῶν.

Whence, *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 640.

“*Cities of men, with lofty gates and towers.*”

Virgil has “*turrigeræque urbes*,” *Æn.* x. 253 ; and Ovid “*turriti mœnibus*,” *Amor.* III. viii. 48, and “*turriti muri*,”

The seats of mightiest monarchs; and so large  
 The prospect was, that here and there was room  
 For barren desert, fountainless and dry. 264  
 To this high mountain top the Tempter brought  
 Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,  
 Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,  
 Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold'st  
 Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds, 270

*Epist. ex Pont.* III. vi. 40. But I do not know where to point out the exact epithet *turritæ* as joined with *urbes*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 267. ————— *o'er hill and dale, &c.*] Milton, for the most part, is fond of the singular number in combination. He does not say *hills* and *dales*, &c. On this account I reject Meadowcourt's alteration of a passage in *Samson Agonistes*, ver. 146.

—————“on his shoulders bore  
 “The gates of Azza, *post*, and massy bar:”

He proposes *posts*, because it is said that Samson “took the doors of the gate of the city, and the two *posts*, &c.” *Judg.* xvi. 3. For the same reason I disapprove Upton's proposed reading of “*seas to shores*,” *Samf. Agon.* ver. 962. See his notes on Spenser, p. 609. col. 2. To say nothing of the beauty of the phrase being varied from that in the preceding line, it may be moreover observed that, in the *Paradise Lost*, we have “*sea without shore*.” On the same principle, at least on the principle of Milton's preference of singulars where others might perhaps have used plurals, Bentley is wrong when, instead of “*flowers of all hue*,” he would read *hues*, *Par. L. B.* iv. 256. Innumerable instances might be produced in support of this reasoning.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 269. ————— *here thou behold'st*

*Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,*] The situation of Mount Niphates, it has been already observed, was particularly adapted for this view. The poet here traces ac-

Araxes and the Caspian lake ; thence on  
 As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,  
 And oft beyond : to south the Persian bay,  
 And, inaccessible, the Arabian drouth :

curately the bounds of the Assyrian empire in its greatest extent ; *the river Araxes and the Caspian Lake* to the north ; *the river Indus* to the east ; *the river Euphrates* to the west, and *oft beyond* as far as the Mediterranean ; and *the Persian Bay* and *the Deserts of Arabia* to the south. DUNSTER.

Ver. 274. — *inaccessible,*] Solinus describes in a similar manner the most desert parts of Africa. Speaking of the boundaries of the province of Cyrene, he says, “ A tergo barbarorum variæ nationes, et solitudo inaccessibleis.” C. 30. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *the Arabian drouth :*] This figure of speech is equally bold and of fine effect. We might suppose it suggested by Virgil’s “ Hinc deserta fiti regio.” *Æn.* iv. 42. Or by Lucan’s “ calidas Libyæ fitientis arenas.” Or still more by a description of the wilderness of Barca in Silius Italicus, who terms it “ Barce fitientibus arida renis.” But, by adopting the reading of the elder editions of Silius Italicus, we find the very phrase in a passage of that poet, xiv. 74.

“ Hic, contra Libycæque fitim Cauróque furentes,  
 “ Cernit devexas Lilybæon nobile Chelas.”

I cannot forbear inserting here a citation from a poet of our own country, contemporary with Milton, where a description of the “ sandy desert” is given in the same bold style. I cite the passage more at large than is necessary, from an opinion that the whole of it must be acceptable to the reader of taste. It is taken from the *Address to the Deity*, which concludes the poems of George Sandys, printed in 1638, under the title of *A Paraphrase on divine Poems*.

“ O, who hath tasted of thy clemency  
 “ In greater measure, or more oft than I ?  
 “ My grateful verse thy goodness shall display,  
 “ O thou that went’st along in all my way,  
 “ To where the morning with perfumed wings

Here Nineveh, of length within her wall      275  
 Several days journey, built by Ninus old,  
 Of that first golden monarchy the feat,

“ From the high mountains of Panchæa springs ;  
 “ To that new-found-out world, where sober night  
 “ Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight ;  
 “ To those dark seas, where horrid winter reigns  
 “ And binds the stubborn floods in icy chains ;  
 “ To Libyan wastes, *whose thirst no showers assuage*,  
 “ And where swollen Nilus cools the lion’s rage.”

Sandys was the translator of Ovid. Part of this volume of poems consists of a *Paraphrase of the Psalms* ; which Mr. Warton justly terms admirable. There is also a *Paraphrase of the Book of Job*, in so masterly a style, that it may be well doubted if any poet of the succeeding century has surpassed it in a similar attempt. DUNSTER.

Ver. 275. *Here Nineveh, &c.*] This city was situated on the Tigris ; *of length, i. e.* of circuit, *within her wall several days journey* ; according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. its circuit was sixty of our miles, and in Jonah, ii. 3. it is said to be *an exceeding great city of three days journey*, twenty miles being the common computation of a day’s journey for a foot-traveller : *built by Ninus old*, after whom the city is said to be called *Nineveh* ; *of that first golden monarchy the feat*, a capital city of the Assyrian empire, which the poet styles *golden monarchy*, probably in allusion to the *golden head* of the image in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of the four empires ; *and feat of Salmanassar*, who in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria seven hundred and twenty-one years before Christ, so that it might now be properly called *a long captivity*. NEWTON.

Ver. 277. — *that first golden monarchy*] *Golden* is here generally descriptive of the splendour of monarchy. It may refer to what is said in history of the magnificence of the kings of Persia, their *golden palaces*, *golden thrones*, *golden beds*, &c. See *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 4. Æschylus gives to Babylon the epithet

Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,  
 And Hecatompylos her hundred gates ;  
 There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,  
 The drink of none but kings ; of later fame,

Ver. 286. *Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,]* Ancient historians speak of *Ecbatana*, the metropolis of Media, as a very large city. Herodotus compares it to Athens, L. i. C. 98 ; Strabo calls it a great city, L. ii : and Polybius, L. 10. says it greatly excelled other cities in riches and magnificence of buildings. NEWTON.

Ver. 288. — *Susa by Choaspes,]* Susa, the Shushan of the Holy Scriptures, and the royal seat of the kings of Persia, who resided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, was situated on the river *Choaspes*, or Eulæus, or Ulai as it is called in Daniel ; or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, which meeting at Susa form one great river, sometimes called by one name, and sometimes by the other. NEWTON.

Ver. 289. *The drink of none but kings ;]* If we examine it as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of the river *Choaspes*, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. We have for that opinion the silence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Aufonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned *Choaspes*, (or *Eulæus*), as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικὴ ὕδωρ *regia lymphe*, but have not said that they alone drank of it. I say *Choaspes* or *Eulæus*, because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers. The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, because he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs ; and, next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so many authors, is considerable. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative should be proved any other way than from the silence of writers, yet so it happens that Ælian, if his authority be admitted, affords us a full proof that the water of

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## Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, 290

*Choaspes* might be drunk by the subjects of the kings of Persia. Τάτε ἄλλα ἰφόδια εἴπερ τῷ Ξέρξῃ πολυτελείας καὶ ἀλαζονείας πεπληρωμένα, καὶ ὕδωρ ἠκολούθει τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Χοάσπευ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τινὶ ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ ἐδίψησεν, εἰδὼς τῆς θεραπειᾶς ἠκέσσης, ἐκηρύχθη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, εἰ τις ἔχει ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ Χοάσπευ, ἵνα δῶ βασιλεῖ πιεῖν. Καὶ εἰρέθη τις βραχὺ καὶ ῥεσηπὺς ἔχων. Ἐπιεν ὁ τῦτο ὁ Ξέρξης, καὶ εὐεργέτην τὸν δούλα ἐνόμισεν, ὅτι ἂν ἀπώλειο τῇ δίψῃ, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο εὐρέθη. *In the carriages which followed Xerxes, there were abundance of things which served only for pomp and ostentation; there was also the water of Choaspes. The army being oppressed with thirst in a desert place, and the carriages not being yet come up, it was proclaimed that if any one had of the water of Choaspes, he should give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not sweet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, because he had perished with thirst, if that little had not been found.* Var. Hist. xii. 40. Mention is made indeed by Agathocles of a certain water, which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find it in Athenæus: Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐν Πέρσαις φήσιν εἶναι καὶ χρυσοῦν καλυμμένον ὕδωρ· εἶναι δὲ τῦτο λιβάδας ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ μηδὲνα πινεῖν ἄπ' αὐτῆς ἢ μόνον βασιλέα καὶ τὸν πρεσβυτάτον αὐτῆς τῶν παιδῶν· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἰὰ τις πῖνῃ, θάνατος ἢ ζημία. *Agathocles says that there is in Persia a water called golden; that it consists of seventy streams, that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son, and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.* It does not however appear, that the golden water and *Choaspes* were the same. Eustathius, having transcribed this passage from Agathocles, adds: Ζηλησίον δὲ ἐὶ καὶ τὸ Χοάσπειον ὕδωρ, ὅπερ ἔπινε στρατεύουσι καὶ Πέρσης βασιλεὺς, τοιαύτην ἐπιτιμίον κῆρα ἐφείλετο.—*Quere, whether the water of Choaspes, which the Persian king drank in his expeditions, was forbidden to all others under the same penalty.* Eustathius in Homer. Iliad. γ, p. 1301. Ed. Basil. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that none besides the king might drink of that water of *Choaspes*, which was boiled and barreled up for his use in his military expeditions. Solinus indeed, who is a frivolous writer, says “*Choaspes ita dulcis est, ut Persici reges quamdiu intra ripas Persidis fluit solis sibi ex*



## The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there

eo pocula vindicarint." Milton therefore, considered as a poet, with whose purpose the fabulous suited best, is by no means to be blamed for what he has advanced; as even the authority of Solinus is sufficient to justify. JORTIN.

All Jortin's proofs, and many more, are to be seen in Briffonius *De Principat. Pers.* L. i. pp. 59. seq. & 93. edit. Commelin, 1595, 8vo. But Briffonius has omitted a passage relating to the river Choaspes in Lucian's *Necyomantis*, by which it appears that its waters were highly esteemed for lustration, a circumstance perhaps not mentioned by any other ancient writer: Ποτὸν δὲ γαλὰ καὶ μελίκρατον καὶ το τῷ ΧΟΑΣΠΟΥ ὕδωρ, *Necyom. Opp.* Lucian ed. Reitz. vol. i. p. 465. This was on account of its sweetness and clearness; for which reason also it was reserved to be drunk by the Persian monarch. See Hill's refutation of the mistakes of Dionysius Periegetes, and his commentator Eustathius, about *Choaspes*, Comment. ad Dionys. p. 263, edit. *Dionys.* Lond. 1688, 8vo. Perhaps Milton might have caught this tradition about Choaspes from Heylin, whose geography he has evidently followed in other parts of this survey, *Cosmograph.* Lib. iii. "Eulæus, [another name for Choaspes,] the chief river of Susiana, emptying itself into Sinus Persicus, a river of so pure a stream that the great Persian kings would drink of no other water." The line immediately preceding the text may be traced in Heylin's description of Persia, "*Hecatompyle*, the royal city, so called from the number of an *hundred gates* in the walls." T. WARTON.

Ver. 290. *Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, &c.]* Cities of later date, *built by Emathian hands*, that is, Macedonian; by the successors of Alexander in Asia. *The great Seleucia*, built near the river Tigris by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and called *great* to distinguish it from others of the same name; *Nisibis*, another city upon the Tigris, called also Antiocha, *Antiochia quam Nisibin vocant.* Plin. vi. 16. *Artaxata*, the chief city of Armenia, seated upon the river Araxes, *juxta Araxem Artaxate.* Plin. vi. 10. *Teredon*, a city near the Persian bay, below the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris, *Teredon infra confluentem Euphratis et Tigris.* Plin. vi. 28.

Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,  
 Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.  
 All these the Parthian, (now some ages past,

*Ctesiphon*, near Seleucia, the winter residence of the Parthian kings. Strabo, L. xvi. p. 743. NEWTON.

Ver. 294. *All these the Parthian, &c.*] All these cities, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, sometimes called *kings of Antioch*, from their usual place of residence, were now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by *Arfaces*, who revolted from Antiochus Theus, according to Prideaux, two hundred and fifty years before Christ. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically described than Adam's prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of vision in the *Paradise Lost*, xi. 385—411: but still the anachronism in this is worse than in the other: in the former Adam is supposed to take a view of cities many years before they were built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities, as Nineveh, Babylon, &c. in this flourishing condition many years after they were laid in ruins; but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit what was future, it was not the design of the latter to exhibit what was past. NEWTON.

The immediate object of this Temptation was to awaken ambition in our blessed Lord, by showing him *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, that is, the splendour of the great empires that had been, or still were in existence. These are showed by means of their principal cities, the extent and magnificence of which may be supposed to mark the great power and riches of the princes, that built or inhabited them:

“Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might seem

“The seats of mightiest monarchs;”

Thus, having traced the extensive bounds of the *ancient Assyrian Empire*, he exemplifies its splendour and importance in the description which he gives of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, the two principal seats of its government. He next touches on the *Persian* and *Median Empires*, in noticing *Persepolis* and *Ecbatana*;

By great Arsaces led, who founded first      295  
 That empire,) under his dominion holds,  
 From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.  
 And just in time thou com'st to have a view

and thence by directing the attention to *Hecatompylos*, &c. makes a transition to the *Parthian Empire*, at that time the rival and formidable antagonist of the Roman power. Whatever anachronism therefore there may be in this place, it is surely not introduced uselessly and unnecessarily, as Dr. Newton insinuates. DUNSTER.

Ver. 297. ——— *the luxurious kings of Antioch*] No particular luxury seems laid by history to the charge of Antiochus Theus, though it was the profligate conduct of Agathocles, or Andragoras, then Governor of Parthia under him, that incited the resentment of Arsaces, and was the cause of the revolt, and finally of the creation of the Parthian Empire. See Prideaux, *Part ii.* Book 2. The contest with Arsaces was afterwards carried on by Seleucus, the son of Antiochus; against whom also no imputation of any luxurious excesses seem to be recorded. The next king of Syria who made any attempts to recover Parthia was Antiochus the Great, so named for his valour, prudence, beneficence, and other virtues, which he maintained unimpeached till he was above fifty years old; when he married a young woman, and totally changing his character, passed his whole time, as Livy describes him, L. 36, “omissâ omnium rerum curâ, in conviviis et vinum sequentibus voluptatibus, ac deinde, ex fatigatione magis quam satietate earum, in somno.” Before this he had however ceded Parthia and Hyrcania to Arsaces, son of the Arsaces who first headed the revolt, on condition of his becoming his confederate, and assisting him to recover the other provinces. But Milton had probably here in his mind the descriptions given in history of the luxury and profligacy of Antiochus Epiphanes; whose abandoned conduct and dissipation was such, that instead of *Epiphanes*, or the Illustrious, which name he had assumed, he was generally known by that of *Epimanes*, or the Madman. See *Polyb. apud Athenæum.* L. v. DUNSTER.

Ver. 298. *And just in time thou com'st to have a view  
 Of his great power; &c.*] Milton, considering very probably that a geographick description of kingdoms, how-

Of his great power; for now the Parthian king  
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host 300

ever varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture of an army mustering for an expedition, which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire, by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out of their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power, and ambassadours making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of our author's, and the more as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected. THYER.

Compare the *Phœnix* of Euripides, where Antigone has ascended the tower to behold the Grecian army, and her conductor says to her

————— ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ Δ' ΕΒΗΣ,  
Κινέμενον γὰρ τυγχάνει Πελασγικὸν  
Στράτευμα—ver. 106. DUNSTER.

Ver. 299. ————— for now the Parthian king

*In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host &c.]* Ctesiphon seems to have been the general place of rendezvous of the Parthian army, wherever their destination might be. Strabo says that the Parthian kings, who had before made Seleucia their winter residence, removed to Ctesiphon, because it was larger, and more calculated for considerable military preparations, and because they wished to save the inhabitants of Seleucia from the inconveniencies of a numerous army in a place not sufficiently large to receive them. Ταύτην δ' ἐποιῶντο χειμάδιον οἱ τῶν Παρθυάων βασιλεῖς, φιλόδομοι τῶν Σελευκείων, ἵνα μὴ κατασθεμνύοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Σκυθικῆ φύλε καὶ στρατιωτικῆ δυνάμει ἔν Παρθικῇ πόλει ἀντὶ κάμης ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοσούτων γε πλῆθος δεχομένη, καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῶν κατασκευασμένη, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τὰς τέχνας προσφόρους ἐκείνοις ἀποπορισμένη. Strabo, L. 16. p. 743. The passage is cited by Dr. Newton, apparently under a misapprehension of its true sense; as he infers from it that the Parthian kings made Ctesiphon

Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild  
 Have wasted Sogdiana ; to her aid  
 He marches now in haste ; see, though from far,  
 His thousands, in what martial equipage  
 They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms,

their winter residence, for the purpose of preventing the incursions of the Scythians. But by *Σκυθικῇ φύλῃ*, we must understand foldiers from their provinces bordering on Scythia. The mountainous Iberians, who make a part of the Parthian army in this place, v. 318. are particularly described by Strabo as resembling the Scythians in their manner of living, *Σκυθῶν διὰ τὴν ζῶντες*. L. xi. DUNSTER.

Ver. 302. ————— to her aid

*He marches now in haste ;*] In the *Charon*, or *ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ* of Lucian, Mercury, in a similar manner shews, and describes to Charon, Cyrus marching on his expedition against Cræsus. Having explained who Cyrus is, and having related his former conquests, he says, *καὶ ΝΥΝ ἱλάσσειοντι ἐπὶ Λυδίας ἔοικεν, ὡς καθελὼν τὸν Κροῖσον ἄρχοι ἀπάντων*. C. 9.—This Dialogue of Lucian is not without its resemblance, in other respects, to this part of our Author's poem. Mercury, to gratify Charon in a short time with a full view of what is passing in the world, tells him that he must devise a "specular mount" on purpose, *τὴν ἱκανὴν ΣΚΟΠΗΝ*. This he does by piling Pelion on Ossa, and Oeta and Parnassus on these. He thence shews his friend an "outstretch'd prospect" of land and water, *γῆν πολλήν, \* \* \** *ἔρη, ἔ ποταμὸς*. Charon afterwards desires to see Nineveh, Babylon, and other famous cities of antiquity. The first of these Mercury tells him has been so completely destroyed, that no traces of it remain : the second he shews him, and, it may be remarked, describes it *εὐπυργος*, and *τὸν μέγαν περιβολὸν (ἔχουσα)*, which is very similar to our Poet's "*Huge cities and high-tower'd*," ver. 261. *supra*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 305. ———— *steel bows and shafts their arms,*] Catullus terms the Parthians "*sagittiferósque Parthos*," *Ep.* xi. And Dionysius distinguished them *as warlike and armed with bows*, *Perieg.* v. 1040.—*ἀρήιοι, ἀγκυλοτοξοί*. DUNSTER.

Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit ; 306  
 All horsemen, in which fight they most excel ;  
 See how in warlike muster they appear,  
 In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.  
 He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless

Ver. 306. *Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit ;*

*All horsemen, in which fight they most excel ;*] Lucan notices the skill of the Parthians in discharging their arrows at their pursuers, while they fled from them, lib. i. 229. " *missâ Parthi post terga sagitta :*" Ovid refers to the same circumstance, *De Art. Amand.* i. 209, &c. And Virgil speaks of "*Fidentemque fuga Parthum,*" *Georg.* iii. 39. Dionysius also describes the Parthians habituated from their infancy to archery and horsemanship, v. 1044. DUNSTER.

Ver. 309. *In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.]* The *Rhomb* or ῥομβοειδὴς φάλαγξ was a Battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, sides.—The ἑμβόλον, or *cuneus*, was the rhomb divided in the middle, having three sides, representing a wedge, or the Greek letter Δ. It is described by Vegetius, L. iii. 29. The *half moon* was the ἡμικυκλῆς φάλαγξ. It was in the form of a half moon, the wings being turned backwards, and the main body presented to the enemy ; it was also called κυρτὴ or κοίλη, being convex and hollow. The *wings* are the κέρατα of the Greeks, and the *alæ* or *cornua* of the Latins. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. ————— *what numbers numberless]* A manner of expression, though much censured in our author, very familiar with the Greek poets. Thus Æschylus, *Prometh.* 904.

Ἀπόλεμος ὁδε γ' ὁ πόλεμος, ἄπορα  
 Πόριμος —————

And *Persæ*, 679.

Ναῖς, ἄναις νᾶις. THYER.

Thus Lucretius, iii. 799, and x. 1053. "*Innumero numero.*" And see Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* C. xix. 121. DUNSTER.

I may rescue the great poet from *censure* by showing that the phrase was common as well in the prose, as in the poetry, of his

The city gates out-pour'd, light-armed troops, 311  
 In coats of mail and military pride ;  
 In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,

own country. Thus Niccols, in the *Mirour for Mag.* 1610, p. 815, of an army :

“ In *number numberlesse* with fresh supplies.”

Again, in Yarrington's *Two Tragedies in One*, 1601.

————— “ happy was that griefe

“ Which hath abridg'd whole *numbers, numberlesse.*”

Again, in G. Wither's *Mistresse of Philarete*, 1622.

“ Saw rich beauties, I confesse,

“ And in *number, numberlesse.*”

Again, in Sir J. Davies's *Hymns to Astrea*, 1622.

“ Recount these *numbers numberlesse.*”

Again, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, 1633, c. ix. ft. 5.

“ To keep this sieged town 'gainst *numbers numberlesse.*”

And, in prose, see Sir Edward Dering's *Collection of Speeches*, 4to. 1642, p. 121. “ The *numberless numbers* of Monks, Fryers, &c.” And also Drummond's *Cypresse Grove*, edit. 1681. p. 431. “ The *numberless number* of the assembly.” TODD.

Ver. 311. *The city gates out-pour'd,*] So, in Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 121.

“ Proce<sup>d</sup>it legio Aufonidum, pilatâque *plenis*

“ *Agmina se fundunt portis ; &c.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 312. *In coats of mail and military pride ;*

*In mail their horses clad, &c.*] Plutarch, in his account of the defeat of Crassus, says that the Parthians, on a sudden throwing off the covering of their armour, seemed all on fire from the glittering brightness of their helmets and breast-plates, which were made of *Margian* steel, and from the brass and iron trappings of their horses.—And Justin, speaking of the Parthians, describes them and their horses completely armed, l. xli. C. 2. We may compare, with our author's description in this place, a passage of Claudian, *In Rufin.* ii. 351.

“ Hic ultrix acies *ornatu fulgida Martis*

“ Explicuit cuneos, Pedites in parte sinistra

Prauncing their riders bore, the flower and choice  
 Of many provinces from bound to bound ; 315  
 From Arachofia, from Candaor east,  
 And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs  
 Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales ;  
 From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains  
 Of Adiabene, Media, and the south 320  
 Of Sufiana, to Balsara's haven.

" *Consistunt ; equites illinc poscentia cursum*  
*" Ora reluctantur pressis sedare lupatis.*  
*" Hinc alii sævum cristato vertice nutant,*  
*" Et tremulos humeris gaudent vibrare colores,*  
*" Quos operit formatque chalybs. Conjuncta per artem*  
*" Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,*  
*" Horribilis visu. Credas simulacra moveri*  
*" Ferrea, cognatæque viros spirare metallo.*  
*" Par vestitus equis ; ferrata fronte minantur,*  
*" Ferratæque levant securi vulneris armos."* DUNSTER.

Ver. 315. *Of many provinces from bound to bound ;*] He had before mentioned the principal cities of the Parthians, and he now recounts several of their provinces. *Arachofia* near the river Indus, μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταμένη, Strabo, L. xi. p. 516. *Candaor*, not *Gandaor*, as in some editions ; I suppose the *Candari*, a people of India, mentioned by Pliny, L. vi. Sect. 18. These were provinces to the east ; and to the north *Margiana* and *Hyrcania*, Strabo, L. ii. p. 72 ; and mount *Caucasus*, and *Iberia*, which is called *dark*, as the country abounded with forests. See Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 34. NEWTON.

Ver. 317. ————— *the Hyrcanian cliffs*  
*Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales ;*] Shirvan and Daghestan, or *The country of rocks*, are those provinces which Milton calls " the *Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus*, &c."

SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 319. *From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains*  
*Of Adiabene, Media, and the south*  
*Of Sufiana, to Balsara's haven.]* This description



He saw them in their forms of battle rang'd,  
 How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them  
     shot  
 Sharp fleet of arrowy showers against the face

of the Parthian provinces moves nearly in a circle. It begins with Arachosia east; then advances northward to Margiana; and from thence, turning westward, proceeds to Hyrcania, Iberia, and the Atropatian or northern division of Media. Here it turns again southward, and carries us to Adiabene, or the western part of Babylonia, which, as Dr. Newton observes, Strabo (L. xvi. p. 745,) describes as a *plain country*, τῆς μὲν ἐν Ἀδιαβηνῆς ἡ πλαεῖστη πεδία ἐστὶ; then, passing through part of Media, it concludes with Susiana, which extended southward to the Persian Gulph, called *Balsara's haven*, from the Port of Balsera, Bassorah, or Bassorah. DUNSTER.

To the West of *Pars* is the Province of *Khuzistan*, which the Greeks call *Susiana*; it has no mountain in it, but consists wholly of large plains. It has part of *Persian Irák* to the North, the Gulph to the South; and it extends westward as far as the plains of Wásilet and the port of *Basra*, whence Milton says "*the south of Susiana to Balsara's haven.*" But he pronounces the word *Basra* very improperly, and makes also a considerable mistake, in putting into the mouth of the Tempter the name of a city, which *was not built, till six hundred years after the Temptation.*

SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 324. *Sharp fleet of arrowy showers*] Mr. Richardson observes that this is not unlike Virgil's

—— "fundunt simul undique tela

"*Crebra nivis ritu.*" *Æn.* ii. 610.

To which we may add another similar passage, *Æn.* xii. 284.

—— "it toto turbida cælo

"*Tempestas telorum, ac ferreus ingruit imber.*"

The "*arroy hail*," or "*arroy shower*" was a figure of speech not uncommon with the Roman prose writers as well as poets. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, "*ritu grandinis undique*

Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight ; 325  
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :

convolantibus telis.” L. xiv. C. 10. P. 49. Ed. Gronov. Fol.  
Spenser has “ *shower and hail of arrows*,” F. Q. v. iv. 38.

DUNSTER.

Similar phrases are in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. viii. p. 115, ed. 1622, and in the *Mirour for Mag.* p. 644, ed. 1610. Nor should the Angel's tremendous prediction in *Par. Lost* be unnoticed, B. vi. 543.

————— “ this day will pour down,  
“ If I conjecture aught, no drizzling *shower*,  
“ But rattling *storm of arrows* barbed with fire.”

But Milton, in this passage of *Par. Regained*, had probably P. Fletcher in view, *Purp. Island*, c. xi. st. 47.

“ And in their course oft would they turn behinde,  
“ And *with their glancing darts their hot pursuers blind*.”

48.

“ As when by Russian Volgha's frozen banks  
“ The false-back *Tartars* fear with cunning feigne.  
“ And, coasting fast away in *flying* ranks,  
“ Oft backward turn, and from their bows down rain  
“ *Whole storms of darts* ; so do they *flying fight* :  
“ And what by force they lose, they winne by sleight ;  
“ Conquer'd by standing out, and *conquerours by flight*.”

TODD.

Ver. 326. *The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :*] Dr. Newton observes that this line greatly exceeds Fairfax's, *Tasso*, c. i. st. 64.

“ Embattail'd in walls of *iron brown* ;”  
and even a very fine passage in Virgil, which has certainly much resemblance to the *field all iron*, *Æn.* xi. 601.

————— “ tum latè ferreus hastis  
“ Horret ager, campique armis sublimibus ardent.”

But I have met with a passage more immediately parallel in Euripides, who literally describes his field *all brass*, in the same

Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn  
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,  
Chariots, or elephants indors'd with towers

scene of the *Phœnissæ*, in which I have noted a coincidence of expression with ver. 298 *supr.*

————— KATAXAΛXON AΠIAN  
ΠΕΔΙΟΝ ἀστραπῆς DUNSTER.

Ver. 327. ——— clouds of foot,] So we have in Homer *Il.* iv. 274. Νεφὸς πτεζῶν; and in Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 793. *nimbus peditum*.—But as Mr. Thyer observes with me, this verse is not very consistent with what goes before, v. 307.

“ *All horsemen*, in which fight they most excell;”  
nor with what follows to the same purpose, v. 344.

“ Such, and so numerous, was their *chivalry*.” NEWTON.

Mr. Dunster observes, that by *horsemen* Milton meant only skilled in the management of a horse, as every Parthian was; and by no means that they never engaged except on horseback. And by *chivalry* he means, as I have already remarked, the army in general, like the Italian *cavalleria*. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. i. 307. TODD.

Ver. 328. *Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight*,] Sallust, *Fragment.* L. iv. speaks of “ *Equites Cataphracti ferrea omni specie*.” Similar to the Cataphracts of the Romans were the κλιθναριοι of the Persians; whom the Author of the *Glossarium Nomicum* describes, ὀλοσιδηροι, *all in steel*. DUNSTER.

Hence perhaps the phrase, so common in our old poetry, *clad in complete steel*. See note on *Comus*, v. 421. So, in *The Battell of Alcazar*, 1594.

“ That *clads* himselfe in coat of hammerd *steele*.”

And, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* c. xlii. st. 51. “ A knight *all armd* in shining *steele*.” TODD.

Ver. 329. ——— elephants indors'd with towers] Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of elephants in the Persian army, L. 24. Pliny mentions them bearing towers with sixty soldiers on them, “ *turriti cum sexagenis propugnatoribus*,” viii. 7.

Of archers ; nor of labouring pioneers 330  
 A multitude, with spades and axes arm'd  
 To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,  
 Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay  
 With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;  
 Mules after these, camels and dromedaries, 335  
 And waggons, fraught with útenfils of war.  
 Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,  
 When Agrican with all his northern powers  
 Besieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,

I find the verb *indorse* used in the same sense by Jonson, in an *Epigram to William Earl of Newcastle*, upon his horsemanship :

“ Nay, for your feat his beauties did *endorse*,

“ As I began to with myself a horse.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 330. ————— of labouring pioneers

*A multitude, with spades and axes arm'd*] Dr. Newton refers to *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 675. But Milton seems to have here remembered a passage in Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis* ;

“ There might you see the *labouring pioneer*.” TODD.

Ver. 333. ————— or overlay

*With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;*] Alluding probably to Æschylus's description of Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont, *Perfæ*, 71.

Πολύγομφον ὀδίσμα

Ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχίνι πόντε. THYER.

The river Araxes is termed by Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 728. “ *pon-tem indignatus Araxes*,” from its carrying away, by a violent inundation, a bridge which Alexander had just built over it.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 337. *Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,*

*When Agrican with all his northern powers*

*Besieg'd Albracca, &c.*] What Milton here alludes to, is related in Boiardo's *Orlando Inamorato*, L. i. c. 10: The

The city of Gallaphrone, from whence to win 340  
The fairest of her sex Angelica,

number of forces said to be there assembled is incredible, and extravagant even beyond the common extravagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king brings into the field no less than two millions two hundred thousand ;

“ Ventidue centinaia di migliaia  
“ Di cavalier hauea quel Rè nel campo,  
“ Cosa non mai udita”

and Sacripante the king of Circassia, who comes to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty-two thousand. It must be acknowledged, I think, by the greatest admirers of Milton, that the impression which romances had made upon his imagination in his youth, has in this place led him into a blameable excess. Not to mention the notorious fabulousness of the fact alluded to, which I doubt some people will censure in a poem of so grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican &c. is by far too much disproportioned to any army, which the Parthian king by an historical evidence could be supposed to bring into the field. THYER.

Cervantes, who was equally studious of romances, expresses the idea of a prodigious concourse of people by the same simile: “ Before we are two hours in these cross-ways, we shall see armed men, more numerous than those that came to Albracca, to win Angelica the fair.” *Don Quix.* B. 2. Ch. 2.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 337. *Such forces met not, &c.*] See Par. Lost, B. i. 574. And Lucan, *Pharsal.* iii. 288.

————— “ *coiere nec unquam*

“ Tam variæ cultu gentes, &c.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 341. *The fairest of her sex Angelica,*] This is that Angelica who afterwards made her appearance in the same character in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, which was intended as a continuation of the story, which Boiardo had begun. As Milton fetches his simile from a romance, he adopts the terms used by these writers, viz. *prouest* and *Paynim*. THYER.

His daughter, fought by many prowest knights,  
Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.

Such and so numerous was their chivalry :

At fight whereof the Fiend yet more presum'd, 345

And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

That thou may'st know I seek not to engage  
Thy virtue, and not every way secure

On no slight grounds thy safety ; hear, and mark,  
To what end I have brought thee hither, and

shown 350

All this fair fight : Thy kingdom, though foretold  
By Prophet or by Angel, unless thou

Endeavour, as thy father David did,

Thou never shalt obtain ; prediction still

In all things, and all men, supposes means ; 355

Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.

But, say thou wert possess'd of David's throne,

By free consent of all, none opposite,

Samaritan or Jew ; how could'st thou hope

Long to enjoy it, quiet and secure, 360

Between two such enclosing enemies,

Roman and Parthian ? Therefore one of these

Thou must make sure thy own ; the Parthian first

By my advice, as nearer, and of late

Found able by invasion to annoy 365

*Prowest* is the superlative of *prow*, from the old French *preux*, valiant. *Preux chevalier* is the old term for the Heroes of Romance. The French writers of chivalry speak of the " nine worthies" under the title of *les neuf preux*. DUNSTER.

Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,  
 Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,  
 Maugre the Roman : It shall be my task  
 To render thee the Parthian at dispose, 369  
 Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league :  
 By him thou shalt regain, without him not,  
 That which alone can truly re-instate thee  
 In David's royal seat, his true successor,  
 Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes,  
 Whose offspring in his territory yet servé, 375

Ver. 366. ——— and captive lead away her kings,

*Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,]* Here seems to be a slip of memory in our Author. The Parthians indeed led *Hyrcanus* away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was past seventy years of age, so that he might well be called *old Hyrcanus* ; but instead of leading away *Antigonus* captive, they constituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards deprived of his kingdom by the Romans. See Josephus *Antiq.* Lib. 14. cap. 13. *De Bell. Jud.* Lib. 1. cap. 13. But it should be considered that Milton himself was old and blind, and composing from memory he might fall into such a mistake, which may be pardoned among so many excellences. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton's observation on the mistake of our "old blind" poet, is here rather unfortunate ; as he himself, with his eyes open, seems to have fallen into a considerable mistake in this note, by describing *Hyrcanus* as having his eyes put out, which does not appear to have been the case. His ears were cut off by his rival Antigonus, (See Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 13.) to render him incapable, when maimed in person, of filling the office of High Priest ; but, (L. xv. C. 6. Sect. 14. where the various misfortunes that befel *Hyrcanus* are particularly recited,) nothing is said of his eyes being put out. DUNSTER.

Ver. 374. ——— those ten tribes,

*Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,  
 In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd :]* These

In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd :  
 Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost  
 Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old  
 Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,  
 This offer sets before thee to deliver. 380  
 These if from servitude thou shalt restore  
 To their inheritance, then, nor till then,  
 Thou on the throne of David in full glory,  
 From Egypt to Euphrates, and beyond,

were the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carried captive into Assyria, "*and put them in Halab and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes,*" II Kings, xviii. 11; which cities were now under the dominion of the Parthians. NEWTON.

Ver. 377. *Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph,*] The ten captive tribes of the Israelites were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Ephraim, and Manasses. Only eight of these were sons of Jacob; the two others were the sons of Joseph. I would suppose therefore that the Poet meant to give it,

"*Eight sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost.*"

Otherwise he must have included, in the *ten* sons of Jacob, both Levi and Joseph. The Levites, it is true, did not form a distinct tribe, nor had any possessions allotted them; but, being carried into captivity with the other tribes, amongst whom they were scattered, Levi might be referred to among the lost sons of Jacob. It seems however quite incorrect to refer to Joseph, as the head of a tribe, when he was really merged in the tribes of his two sons Ephraim and Manasses. DUNSTER.

Ver. 384. *From Egypt to Euphrates,*] That is the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent; for thus the land was promised to Abraham, Gen. xv. 18. "*Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates:*" and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus described, I Kings, iv. 21. NEWTON.



Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear. 385

To whom our Saviour answer'd thus, unmov'd.  
 Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm  
 And fragile arms, much instrument of war,  
 Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,  
 Before mine eyes thou hast set; and in my ear 390  
 Vented much policy, and projects deep  
 Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,  
 Plausible to the world, to me worth nought.  
 Means I must use, thou say'st; prediction else  
 Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne: 395

Ver. 387. *Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm*] "Fleshly arm" is scriptural. "With him is an *arm of flesh*, but with us is the Lord our God, to help us, and to fight our battles." II Chron. xxxii. 8. and see Jer. xvii. 5. Spenser has, *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 1.

"What man is he that boasts of *fleshly might*?" DUNSTER.

I might add *Faer. Qu.* i. ix. 11. "And who most trusts in *arme of fleshly might*." But the reading of Spenser's second edition of his *Faer. Qu.* iii. iv. 27, is that to which Milton here seems inclined:

"So feeble is the powre of *fleshly arme*:"

Where the first edition reads *fleshy*. Milton has also "the *fleshly arm* of magistracy," Observ. on Art. of Peace between the E. of Ormond and the Irish. TODD.

Ver. 388. ———— *much instrument of war,*  
*Long in preparing,*] "Totius belli *instrumento et apparatu*." Ciceron. *Academic.* ii. 1. DUNSTER.

Ver. 394. ———— *prediction else*  
*Will unpredict,*] This refers to what the Tempter had said before, ver. 354, where he had fallaciously applied the argument, that the requisite reliance on divine providence does not by any means countenance a supine negligence, and a dereliction of all personal exertions. Mr. Thyer censures the manner

My time, I told thee, (and that time for thee  
 Were better farthest off,) is not yet come :  
 When that comes, think not thou to find me slack  
 On my part aught endeavouring, or to need  
 Thy politick maxims, or that cumbersome 400  
 Luggage of war there shewn me, argument  
 Of human weakness rather than of strength.  
 My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes  
 I must deliver, if I mean to reign  
 David's true heir, and his full scepter sway 405  
 To just extent over all Israel's sons.  
 But whence to thee this zeal? Where was it then  
 For Israel, or for David, or his throne,  
 When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride

of speaking here, as too light and familiar for the dignity of the speaker, but it strikes me as censurable not so much for the lightness, as for the quaintness, of the expression, and somewhat of that jingling play upon words, of which our author was certainly too fond. To *unpredict* is something like to *uncreate*. See *Par. Lost*, B. v. 895, and B. ix. 943. DUNSTER.

Ver. 396. *My time, &c.*] John vii. 6. NEWTON.

Ver. 401. ————— *argument*

*Of human weakness rather than of strength.*] It is a proof of human weakness, as it shows that man is obliged to depend upon something extrinsic to himself, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himself. It alludes to the common observation, that Nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defence, except man. See Anacreon's *Ode* on this thought.

THYER.

Ver. 409. *When thou stood'st up his tempter &c.*] Alluding to 1 Chron. xxi. 1. "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." Milton, we see, considers it

Of numbering Israë!l, which cost the lives 410  
 Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites  
 By three days pestilence? Such was thy zeal  
 To Israel then; the same that now to me!  
 As for those captive tribes, themselves were they

not as the advice of any evil counsellor, as some understand the word *Satan*, but as the suggestion of the first author of evil: and he expresses it very properly by *the pride of numbering Israel*; for the best commentators suppose the nature of David's offence to consist in pride and vanity, in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people. And for this three things were proposed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be destroyed before his enemies, or three days pestilence; of which he chose the latter. "*So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men,*" ver. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 414. *As for those captive tribes, &c.*] The captivity of the ten tribes was a punishment owing to their own idolatry and wickedness. *They fell off from God to worship calves*, the golden calves which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel and in Dan, and which the poet calls *the deities of Egypt*; for it is probable, (as some learned men have conjectured,) that Jeroboam, having conversed with the Egyptians, set up these two calves in imitation of the two which the Egyptians worshipped, the one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hierapolis the metropolis of the lower Egypt. *Baal next and Ashtaroth*. Ahab built an altar and a temple for *Baal*, I Kings xvi. 32. and at the same time probably was introduced the worship of *Ashtaroth*, the Goddess of the Zidonians, I Kings xi. 5. For Jezebel, Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all evil, was *the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians*, I Kings xvi. 31. And, by *the prophets of the groves* (I Kings, xviii. 19.), Mr. Selden understands the prophets of *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte*; and *the groves under every green tree*, II Kings, xvii. 10. should be translated *Ashtaroth under every green tree*. See Selden *de Diis Syris Syntag.* ii. cap. 2. But for the wickedness and idolatry of the Israelites, and their rejection thereupon, and still

Who wrought their own captivity, fell off 415  
 From God to worship calves, the deities  
 Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,  
 And all the idolatries of Heathen round,  
 Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;  
 Nor in the land of their captivity 420  
 Humbled themselves, or penitent besought  
 The God of their forefathers; but so died  
 Impenitent, and left a race behind  
 Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce  
 From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain; 425  
 And God with idols in their worship join'd.  
 Should I of these the liberty regard,  
 Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,

continuing impenitent in their captivity, see II *Kings*, xvii. and the prophets in several places. NEWTON.

Ver. 428. *Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,*

*Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,*

*Headlong would follow; and to their Gods perhaps*

*Of Bethel and of Dan?*] There is some difficulty

and obscurity in this passage; and several conjectures and emendations have been offered to clear it, but none, I think, entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Sympson would read *Headlong would fall off, and &c.* or *Headlong would fall, &c.* But Mr. Calton seems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow, says he? There wants an accusative case; and what must be understood to complete the sense can never be accounted for by an ellipsis, that any rules or use of language will justify. He therefore suspects by some accident a whole line may have been lost; and proposes one, which he says may serve at least for a commentary to explain the sense, if it cannot be allowed for an emendation:

“ *Their fathers in their old iniquities*

“ *Headlong would follow, &c.*”

Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd, 429  
 Headlong would follow; and to their Gods perhaps  
 Of Bethel and of Dan? No; let them serve

Or is not the construction thus, *Headlong would follow as to their ancient patrimony, and to their Gods perhaps, &c.*? NEWTON.

There is somewhat of obscurity here, it must be allowed; but I conceive our author to have many passages that are more implicate. The sense seems to be this: "Who, if they were freed from that captivity, which was inflicted on them as a punishment for their disobedience, idolatry, and other vices, would return to take possession of their country, as something to which they were justly entitled, and of which they had been long unjustly deprived; without shewing the least sense either of their former abandoned conduct, or of God's goodness in pardoning and restoring them. This change in their situation would produce none whatever in their conduct, but they would retain the same hardened hearts, and the same wicked dispositions as before, and most probably would betake themselves to their old idolatries and other abominations."—The expression *headlong would follow* seems allusive to brute animals hurrying in a gregarious manner to any new and better pasture; and *headlong* might be particularly suggested by Sallust's description of irrational animals, "*pecora, quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia finxit.*" If a correction of the text be thought necessary, I should prefer,

"Who, freed as to their ancient patrimony,  
 "Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,  
 "Headlong would *fall unto* their Gods, perhaps  
 "Of Bethel and of Dan —"

in recommendation of which it may be observed that *fall to idols* is Miltonick; as it is said of Solomon, *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 444, that his heart

"Beguil'd by fair idolatresses fell  
 "To idols foul." DUNSTER.

Ver. 429. *Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,*] See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 185. TODD.

Ver. 431. ——— No; let them serve  
*Their enemies, &c.*] "Like as ye have forsaken

Their enemies, who serve idols with God.  
 Yet he at length, (time to himself best known,)  
 Remembering Abraham, by some wonderful call  
 May bring them back, repentant and sincere, 435  
 And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,  
 While to their native land with joy they haste;  
 As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,  
 When to the Promis'd Land their fathers pass'd:  
 To his due time and providence I leave them. 440  
 So spake Israel's true king, and to the Fiend

me, and served strange gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours," *Jer. v. 19.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 436. *And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood, &c.]* There are several prophecies of the restoration of Israel: but in saying that the Lord would cleave *the Assyrian flood*, that is the river Euphrates, at their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt, the poet seems particularly to allude to *Rev. xvi. 12*, and to *Iſa. xi. 15, 16.* NEWTON.

Ver. 441. ————— and to the Fiend

*Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.]*

We may compare the following passage of Vida, where Satan, in his Speech to the Devils in Pandæmonium, relates how he had been foiled in the Temptation of our blessed Lord, *Christiad. i. 198.*

“ Quas non in facies, quæ non mutatus in ora  
 “ Accessi incassum! Semper me reppulit ipse  
 “ Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus;  
 “ Sed, tantum veterum repetito carmine vatum,  
 “ Irrita tentamenta, dolos, et vim exiit omnem.”

DUNSTER.

So, in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*, the Sorcerers is thus foiled in the Temptation of our Lord;

“ But he her charms dispersed into wind,  
 “ And her of insolence admonished.” TODD,

Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.  
So fares it, when with truth fallhood contends.



Ver. 253. p. 171. *It was a mountain &c.*] All that the Scripture saith is, that the Devil took Jesus up “*into an exceeding high mountain*” (Matt. iv. 8.) ; which commentators generally suppose to have been one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, or near the wilderness. The ancients speak little concerning it ; but the moderns imagine it to have been the mountain Quarantania, as it is now called. Mr. Maundrell, in his *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, speaking of the plain of Jericho, says, “ we descended into it, after about five hours march from Jerusalem. As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up on the left hand, and, going about one hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania ; which they say is the mountain into which the Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew styles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its ascent not only difficult but dangerous.” But this is all conjecture ; and, as the Scripture has not specified any particular place, the poet was at liberty in this point to suit it to his own fancy. By his description here he must mean Mount Taurus, for he describes it exactly in the same manner as Strabo has described that part of Mount Taurus which divides the greater Armenia from Mesopotamia, and which contains the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. τὸ δ’ οὖν νοτιώτατον [βορείοτατον] μάλιστ’ ἐστὶν ὁ Ταῦρος ὀρίζων τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας. Ἐντὺθεν δ’ ἀμφότεροι ρέουσιν οἱ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐγκυκλῆμενοι ποταμοὶ. Strabo, L. xi. p. 521. NEWTON.

That part of Mount Taurus which bounds Mesopotamia on the north, we learn from Strabo, was sometimes called simply Mount Taurus, and sometimes the Gordyæan mountains ; in the middle of which, nearly above Nisibis, stood Mount Masius. But this mountainous range does not contain the sources either of the Euphrates or Tigris ; although from every part of it lesser contributory streams flow into each of these rivers. In the passage cited by Dr. Newton from Strabo, *ῥέουσιν* signifies only that the two rivers *flow through*, or *amongst*, these mountains, and not that they *spring*, or *have their sources*, in them. That

such is here the sense of *ῥέουσιν* appears from another passage of the same ancient geographer in this part of his work, where, having traced the course of Mount Taurus eastward to the Euphrates, he speaks of the continuity of these mountains being no further interrupted than by the course of the river as it *flows through the middle* of them—*ὅρη συνέχῃ τοῖς μὲν προειρημένοις, πλὴν ὅσον διακόπτει ΠΕΩΝ διὰ μέσων ὁ ποταμὸς*. Indeed Strabo is very particular in pointing out the original sources of these two rivers. The springs of the Tigris he fixes in the southern side of Mount Niphates, which is considerably north-east of Mount Masius and the Gordyæan mountains; and the prime source of the Euphrates he carries very far north, (as Ptolemy had also done) and affirms that the springs of the two rivers are two thousand five hundred *stadia*, (which is above four hundred miles) distant from each other. Possibly there is some error here, as Eustathius, (on Dionysius, v. 985.) says they are only one thousand five hundred *stadia* apart. As the mountains, which constitute the head or northern boundary of Mesopotamia, incline to the south, and are absolutely the most southern part of the whole ancient Taurus, the lower end of Mount Amanus alone excepted, they are justly described by Strabo, *νοτιώτατον*; and why Dr. Newton should give *βορείωτατον*, as an hypothetical emendation in a parenthesis, or why Xylander should render the passage “*maxime ad septentriones accedens*,” I do not comprehend. Mount Masius, or any projecting elevation of that ridge, would have been no improper point for viewing a great part of this geographical scene. Milton might therefore, not without reason, be supposed to have followed Strabo as cited by Dr. Newton: and indeed “from his side two rivers flow’d” seems almost an exact translation of *ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἀμφοτέροισι ῥέουσιν*, &c. But still, all circumstances considered, I conceive this was not the exact spot which he had selected in his mind for his “specular mount.” We must recollect that, at the conclusion of the third Book of his *Paradise Lost*, he makes Satan, in his way to Paradise, alight on the top of Mount Niphates; and, while he is there, it is said that Eden “in his view lay pleasant.”

That he fixed upon Mount Niphates in that place for Satan to light upon, and from thence to survey Eden, was certainly owing to his considering it as the most elevated range of this part of Mount Taurus; and, that it was so, he collected from



Strabo, who, having traced the course of the mountain from the Euphrates eastward, or rather north-east, and having described the Gordyæan mountains as being higher than any parts which he had before considered, says, "from thence it rises still higher, and is distinguished by the name of Niphates."—*ἵπτατα ἐξαίρεται ἔλον, καὶ καλεῖται Νιφάτης*. The object of the poet, in this part of the *Paradise Regained*, certainly was to select a point of Mount Taurus inclining to the south-east, but sufficiently central and elevated to command the Caspian sea, Artaxata, and other places specified, that lay directly, or nearly, north. Mount Niphates most particularly suited his purpose, and will, I imagine, be found to agree perfectly with all his descriptions. It may be observed also that it rises immediately above Assyria, which is the first country showed to our Lord. As to what is said, that *from its side two rivers flow'd*, the sources of the Tigris, it is agreed, were in the southern side of this mountain; and several ancient authors have supposed the Euphrates and Tigris to spring from the same source. Sallust affirms this in a fragment preserved by Seneca; "*Sallustius, auctor certissimus, asserit Tigrin et Euphratem uno fonte manare in Armenia, qui per diversa cunctes longius dividantur, spatio medio relicto multorum millium; quæ tamen terra, quæ ab ipsis ambitur, Mesopotamia dicitur.*" Boethius likewise, (*Conf. Philosoph. L. v.*) says positively,

"Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt;"

And Lucan, L. iii. 256.

"Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus

"Euphrates, quos non diversis fontibus edit

"Persis;"

on which passage Grotius observes, that *non diversis* means *parum distantibus*, but adds "*vulgo tamen creditum unum habuisse fontem.*" It is also observable that one principal source of the Euphrates, according to Strabo, was in Mount Abus, at no considerable distance north of Mount Niphates. Neither has the prime source of this river been carried by other geographers so far north, as Strabo and Ptolemy have inclined to place it. It may be further remarked, that the descriptions of the poet in other respects point out Niphates as the "specular mount," in preference to Mount Masius or any point of the Taurus between

that mountain and the Euphrates ; as in such a station, the verse describing the extent of the Assyrian empire,

“ As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,”

seems highly improper, when the speaker was standing so near the very bank of the last river. Besides, had the spectators of this geographical scene been placed on Mount Masius, or any point of the mountains immediately at the head of Mesopotamia, the plain “ at the feet of these mountains ” would have been *only* Mesopotamia. But the poet positively distinguishes between Mesopotamia and his *great plain*, that lay at the foot of that vast range of Mount Taurus of which Mount Niphates may be considered as the highest and most central point. The latter he describes “ *a spacious plain outstretch'd in circuit wide ;* ” while the former he places between its two rivers, and terms it “ *fair champaign with less rivers intervein'd.* ” DUNSTER.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE  
FOURTH BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE REGAINED.



## THE ARGUMENT.

*Satan, persisting in the temptation of our Lord, shows him Imperial Rome in its greatest pomp and splendour, as a power which he probably would prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he might with the greatest ease expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to their liberty, and make himself master not only of the Roman Empire, but by so doing of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expresses his contempt of grandeur and worldly power, notices the luxury, vanity, and profligacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be restored to that liberty, which they had lost by their misconduct, and briefly refers to the greatness of his own future kingdom. Satan, now desperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, professes that the only terms, on which he will bestow them, are our Saviour's falling down and worshipping him. Our Lord expresses a firm but temperate indignation at such a proposition, and rebukes the Tempter by the title of "Satan for ever damned." Satan, abashed, attempts to justify himself: he then assumes a new ground of temptation, and, proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated seat of ancient learning, Athens, its schools, and other various resorts of learned teachers and their disciples; accompanying the view with a highly-finished panegyrick on the Grecian musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers of the different sects. Jesus replies, by showing the vanity and insufficiency of the boasted Heathen philosophy; and prefers to the musick, poetry, eloquence, and didactic policy of the Greeks, those of the inspired Hebrew writers. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiscretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers;*

## THE ARGUMENT.

*and, having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there. Night comes on : Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts further to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrifick threatening spectres ; which however have no effect upon him. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrors of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord, and, from noticing the storm of the preceding night as pointed chiefly at him, takes occasion once more to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only draws from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the height of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the true Messiah ; and, collecting from what passed at the river Jordan that he most probably was so, he had from that time more assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his " fatal Enemy." In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto completely failed ; but still determines to make one more trial of him. Accordingly he conveys him to the Temple at Jerusalem, and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his Divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the Tempter, and at the same time manifests his own Divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amazed and terrified, instantly falls ; and repairs to his Infernal Compeers, to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels in the mean time convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley, and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.*

# PARADISE REGAINED.

## BOOK IV.

PERPLEX'D and troubled at his bad success  
 The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,  
 Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope  
 So oft, and the persuasive rhetorick 4  
 That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve,  
 So little here, nay lost; but Eve was Eve;  
 This far his over-match, who, self-deceiv'd  
 And rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd

Ver. 4. ———— [the persuasive rhetorick] Thus the  
 Serpent's address to Eve is termed, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*,  
 1621, p. 191, "glozing rhetorike." And Milton also, in his  
 account of the Temptation of Eve, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 549, says  
 "So glaz'd the Tempter." See also *Comus*, v. 790. But Mil-  
 ton here had probably the *Eva* di Fed. Malipiero, Ven. 1640,  
 12mo. in his mind, where the fall of Eve is related, p. 98. "Ma  
 io crederei, ch' il peccato di Adamo fosse stato anche maggiore,  
 perch' Eva alla per fine debole, e tentata dal Diavolo, ch' è il  
 maestro della RETTORICA tentativa poteva facilmente ingannarla."

TODD.

Ver. 5. *That sleek'd his tongue,*] So Quarles, in his *Elegy*  
*on Dr. Wilson*, st. iii.

"No far-fetch'd metaphor shall smooth or sleek

"My ruffled strain." DUNSTER.

The strength he was to cope with, or his own :  
But as a man, who had been matchless held 10

Ver. 9. *The strength he was to cope with, or his own :*] Milton might allude to the particular description of a strong man foiled, Luke xi. 21, 22. "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. But when a stronger man than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted." These words were spoken by Christ himself, possibly with a reference to his victory over the Tempter, who "had no better weighed the strength he was to cope with, or his own." TODD.

Ver. 10. *But as a man, &c.*] It is the method of Homer to illustrate and adorn the same subject with several similitudes. Our author here follows his example, and presents us with a string of similes together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be sufficiently admired, but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this respect, that in Homer the lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas here they rise one upon another. The first has too much sameness with the subject that it would illustrate, and gives us no new ideas. The second is low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the same time is very natural. The third is free from the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's usual dignity and majesty. Mr. Thyer also observes that Milton, as if conscious of the defects of his two first comparisons, rises in the third to his usual sublimity. NEWTON.

Ibid. *But as a man, who had been matchless held &c.*] The character of the man of cunning irritated by defeat, however well drawn, is here an image too general and indistinct, materially to illustrate, or in any way to decorate, this part of the poem. We may therefore perhaps suppose the description in this place to have been personal : it might refer to his old literary, political, enemy, Salmasius, as the "man who had been matchless held," and who, after being "foiled" in the controversy by our author's *defensio populi*, endeavoured "to save his credit" by a virulent reply, which he did not live to finish, but which was published by his son : or it might relate to his later antagonist Alexander More, or Morus. DUNSTON.



In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,  
 To false his credit, and for very spite,  
 Still will be tempting him who foils him still,  
 And never cease, though to his shame the more;  
 Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time, 15

Ver. 15. *Or as a swarm of flies &c.*] This comparison, Dr. Jortin observes, is very just; and in the manner of Homer, *Il.* xvi. 641.

Οἱ δ' αἰεὶ περὶ νέκρον ὀμίλειον, ὡς ὅτε μῦλαι  
 Σταθμῷ ἐν βρομέωσι περιγλαγίας κατὰ πύλλας,  
 "Ὡρῇ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τὲ γλάγος ἄλγεια δέυει.

See also *Il.* xvii. 570, &c. Mr. Thyer notices likewise the simile of the Flies in the second Book of the *Iliad*, 469.

Ἦύτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ,  
 Αἴτε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊεν ἡλάσκεσιν  
 "Ὡρῇ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τὲ γλάγος ἄλγεια δέυει.

The language of this last simile is beautiful, but the image which it presents is of a kind that scarcely embellishes, and certainly does not dignify, the description. The other two comparisons of a band of warriors obstinately defending the dead body of their companion from the repeated attacks of the enemy, to a number of flies which it is scarcely possible to drive back from a milk pail, and of a single hero acting the same resolute part, to a fly that will not quit a dead carcase, are, it must be allowed, similes of the degrading kind, and unworthy of the subject they are intended to illustrate. But the application of the same simile by Milton in this place is so perfectly appropriate, that no such objection lies against it. It is justly observed by Dr. Blair, respecting similes, "that they are commonly intended to embellish and to dignify; and therefore, unless in burlesque writing, or where similes are introduced purposely to vilify and diminish an object, mean ideas should never be presented to us." This then is one of the Critick's exceptions, as it may be supposed the Poet's object here to diminish, by setting in its true light, the character of the Tempter, which in parts of this Poem he had found it convenient to invest

About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,  
 Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;  
 Or surging waves against a solid rock,  
 Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,  
 (Vain battery !) and in froth or bubbles end; 20

with such a portion of dignity, that it was necessary at other times to counteract it by lowering descriptions and degrading comparisons. Besides, as the courage and force of a magnanimous hero may be illustrated by the comparison of a lion or a torrent, so may the low cunning and base arts of an insidious adversary be, with no less propriety, elucidated by a comparison of an insect or a reptile. DUNSTER.

The reader may here also compare Ariosto's beautiful Simile of the Flies *Orl. Fur. C. xiv. st. cix.* TODD.

Ver. 18. *Or surging waves against a solid rock,*

*Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,]*

There can be but one opinion respecting this simile. "It presents," says Mr. Thyer, "to the reader's mind an image which not only fills and satisfies the imagination, but also perfectly expresses both the unmoved steadfastness of our Saviour, and the frustrated baffled attempts of Satan." We may trace a resemblance of it, where Vida describes the vain attempts of the Arch-Fiend, in the Temptation of our blessed Lord, *Christiad. iv. 628.*

— "Haud desistit hostis

"Congressu victus primo, pugnâque retentat,

"Atque aliis super atque aliis assultibus instat,

"Terque novos, semper cœpti irritus, integrat astus,

"Nequicquam nunc regnorum, nunc laudis, inani

"Immotum tentans animum pervertere amore.

"Ut, cum sollicitum tollunt mare fluctibus Euri,

"Crebra ferit, sævitque minaci murmure in alta

"Littora, sed *saxis allisa revertitur unda.*"

We may also compare the following stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death.*

"So have I seen a rock's heroick breast,

"Against proud Neptune, that his ruin threats,

So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse  
 Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,  
 Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,  
 And his vain importunity pursues.  
 He brought our Saviour to the western side 25  
 Of that high mountain, whence he might behold  
 Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,

" When all his waves he hath to battle prest,  
 " And with a thousand swelling billows beats  
 " The stubborn stone, and foams and chafes and frets  
 " To heave him from his root, unmoved stand,  
 " And more in heaps the barking *furges* land,  
 " The more *in pieces beat* fly weeping to the strand."

And we may trace all these later poets to Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 586, as we may Virgil himself to Homer, *Il.* xv. 618.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 18. — [*furging waves*] This is a frequent expression in our old poetry. Thus in the *Historie of Sir Clymon*, 1599.

" Here by the sea of *furging waues*."

Again, in Ford's *Lover's Melancholy*, 1629.

" The frothy fomes of Neptune's *furging waues*."

See also Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xvi. p. 252, edit. 1622, and Niccols's *Mir. for Mag.* p. 861, edit. 1610. But Milton perhaps had here in mind both the phrase and the simile, as they stand in Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, c. xlv. st. 70.

" Nor better doth a *rocke* indure the stroke

" Of *furging waues*, still wallowing to the land." TODD.

Ver. 27. *Another plain, &c.*] The learned reader need not be informed that the country here meant is Italy, which indeed is long but not broad, and is washed by the Mediterranean on the south, and screened by the Alps on the north, and divided in the midst by the river Tiber. NEWTON.

[The ridge of hills here does not mean the Alps, but the Apennines which divide the south-west part of Italy from the north-west; and in which the river Tiber has its source.] The

Wash'd by the southern sea, and, on the north,  
 To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills  
 That screen'd the fruits of the earth, and seats of  
 men, 30

From cold Septentrion blasts; thence in the midst  
 Divided by a river, of whose banks  
 On each side an imperial city stood,  
 With towers and temples proudly elevate  
 On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd, 35

*plain*, contained between these hills and the Mediterranean sea, consists of the old Etruria, Latium, and Campania; the two latter being divided from the former by the course of the Tiber.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 34. *With towers and temples proudly elevate &c.*] Thus Spenser, in his *Ruins of Time*, where Verulam, comparing herself with Rome, describes "the beauty of her buildings fair;"

"High towers, fair temples, goodly theatres,

"Strong walls, rich porches, princely palaces,

"Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,

"Sure gates, sweet gardens, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 35. *On seven small hills,*] Thus Virgil, *Georgic*. ii. 535, speaking of Rome, "*Septémque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.*" NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *with palaces adorn'd,*

Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,

Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,] The palaces were a subject of immense expence and grandeur. Clodius, the antagonist of Milo, even in the times of the republick, dwelt in a house that cost near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our money. We may form some judgment of the size and extent of the Roman palaces, from what is said of them by the writers of the Augustan age. Sallust mentions "*domos et villas in urbium modum exædificatas.*" Bell. Catilin. 12. Seneca also speaks in the same manner of the private houses in his time; "*ædificia privata laxitatem urbium magnarum vincentia.*" De Benefic. vii. 10, and Epist. xc. he notices "*domos instar urbium.*"

Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,  
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,

The *Porches* or *Porticos* also were an article of immense magnificence at Rome. They were elevated structures of great extent; and were much resorted to for shade in summer, and for dryness in winter. Martial speaks of the Claudian Portico, *De Spectac. Ep.* ii. 9. and describes the famous Portico of Cn. Octavius, in the Circus Flaminius, *L. ii. Ep.* xiv. Ovid notices the Pompeian, Octavian, and Livian Porticos, *De Art. Amand.* i. 67, &c. As Roman luxury rose to its height, private persons had their porticos. Paterculus having spoken of the publick porticos, adds: “publicam magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est.” *L. ii. C. i.*

The *Theatres*, in which we may include the *Amphitheatres*, *Circi*, and *Naumachiae*, were conspicuous objects among the magnificent buildings of Rome. They were at first only temporary buildings, but were erected sometimes at an incredible expence. Pliny describes very particularly one built by M. Scaurus, the son-in-law of Sylla, which he terms “opus maximum omnium quæ umquam fuere humanâ manu facta.” *L. xxxvi. C. 15.* Pompey was the first person who built a fixed theatre; see Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. C. xx. Permanent theatres of a great extent soon became frequent. Some remains of those built by Marcellus, and Statilius Taurus, are still to be seen; as well as that of Tiberius.

The great extent of the Roman publick *Baths* may be judged of by the ruins now remaining of those of Caracalla and Dioclesian. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of baths at Rome “in modum provinciarum extructa,” (*L. xvi. C. 10;*) where, however, Valesius judiciously suggests the reading *piscinarum* rather than *provinciarum*. Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, says, v. 102. “Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.” The *baths* even of private persons were very lofty buildings, and were ornamented in the most superb style. Juvenal, speaking of the expences of private persons in whatever gratified their own luxury, specifies particularly their *baths* and *porticos*, *Sat.* vii. 178. Seneca particularly notices this absurd extravagance of his countrymen, in his lxxxvith epistle.

The *Aqueducts* were some of the noblest works of the Romans.

## Gardens, and groves, presented to his eyes,

Frontinus, in his Treatise *de Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ*, affirms them to have been “*magnitudinis Romani Imperii præcipuum indicium.*”

The passion of the Romans for *Statues* appears from the number of antique statues yet remaining at Rome, after the numerous desolations of that city. Greece, Asia, and Egypt were all plundered to ornament it with statues. Among the most conspicuous of these, on a bird's eye view of the city, were the colossal images of some of their emperours, standing on superb columns. Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of the triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome, notices the “*elatos vertices, qui scansili suggestu consurgunt, priorum principum imitamenta portantes.*” These may be supposed the statues which the poet here intends.

Rutilius notices the numberless *Trophies* which decorated every part of the city of Rome, *Itinerar.* 91, &c. Milton had here perhaps in his mind the trophies now remaining in the front of the Capitol, thought to be the Cimbrick trophies of Marius.

The *Arches* erected in honour of eminent persons were in the early ages of Rome rude structures. That of Camillus was of plain stone. But those of Cæsar, Drusus, Titus, Trajan, Constantine, and others, were of marble, and many of them ornamented with statues, trophies, and the most curious sculpture; particularly those of Titus and Constantine. DUNSTER.

All these articles of grandeur and expence, both publick and private, are recorded, and minutely illustrated, by Hakewill, in his *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God*, through several sections of a chapter entitled, “Of the Romans excessive luxurie in building.” Milton's *triumphal arcs* may have been taken from Spenser's Verses, prefixed to the *Historie of G. Castriot*, &c. 1596.

“Their rich *triumphall arcs* which they did raise.”

See also Daniel's *Civil Wars*, &c.

“*Triumphant arcs* of perdurable might.” TODD.

Ver. 38. *Gardens, and groves,*] The extravagance of the Romans in these articles of luxury, was carried to a ridiculous height. They planted “*gardens and orchards and groues vpon*

Above the highth of mountains interpos'd:  
 (By what strange parallax, or optick skill 40  
 Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass  
 Of telescope, were curious to enquire :)

their house toppes, therein like Antipodes running a contrary course to nature, as Seneca truly and justly taxes them, *Epist.* 122." Hakewill's *Apologie* &c. in the chapter, entitled "Their [the Romans] prodigall sumptuousnesse in their private buildings, in regard of the largenesse and height of their houses, as also in regard of their marble pillars, walls, roofes, beames, and pauement full of art and cost," p. 404. Compare ver. 58, &c.

TODD.

Ver. 40. (*By what strange parallax, or optick skill  
 Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass  
 Of telescope,*)

The learned have been very idly busy in contriving the manner in which Satan shewed to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Some suppose it was done by vision; others by Satan's creating phantasms or species of different kingdoms, and presenting them to our Saviour's sight, &c. &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide in summing up the various opinions upon this subject gives it in these words: "Alii subtiliter imaginantur, quod Dæmon per multa specula sibi invicem objecta species regnorum ex uno speculo in aliud et aliud continuò reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad oculos Christi." In locum Matthæi. For want of a proper index I could not find the place in Broughton's works. But Wolfius, in his *Curæ philologicæ in SS. Evangelia*, fathers this whim upon him: "Alii cum Hugone Broughtono ad instrumenta artis opticæ se recipiunt." Vid. Wolf. in *Matt.* iv. 8. THYER.

The learned Bochart has a Dissertation on this subject; the following passage of which might here have been in Milton's recollection. "Eo usque progreditur hominum industria, ut instrumentis quibusdam opticis, telescopiis, microscopiis, et speculis, &c. remotissima quæque oculis subjiçiat, minutissima quævis adducat in conspectum, objectorum situm prorsus immutet,

And now the Tempter thus his silence broke.

The city, which thou see'st, no other deem  
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,  
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd 46  
Of nations; there the Capitol thou see'st,  
Above the rest lifting his stately head  
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel  
Impregnable; and there mount Palatine, 50  
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high  
The structure, skill of noblest architects,

adeo ut posteriora antcrius, inferius superiora cernantur. Nul-  
latenus profecto dubitandum quin longc major sit Diaboli in ob-  
jectis admovendis, amplificandis, suo situ emovendis, &c. vis ac  
solertia; cum pro tubis opticis aut speculis bipedalibus, vel  
tripedalibus, quibus solemus uti, ille præsto nubes habeat, quas  
ex arbitrio, tanquam aeris princeps, fingit ac usurpat." Tom. i.  
p. 949. DUNSTER.

Ver. 45. — *great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,*]  
See *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 405. And thus Propertius terms Rome,  
L. iii. El. 10. "Septem urbs alta jugis, quæ toti præfudet orbi."  
Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, where he describes himself quitting  
Rome, thus begins a most affectionate valedictory address to her,  
L. i. 47.

"Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi." DUNSTER.

Ver. 46. — *with the spoils enrich'd*

*Of nations;*] This refers to the immense sums  
carried to Rome, and deposited in the treasury by their generals;  
and to what was amassed by the fines which the Romans arbi-  
trarily set upon other states and kingdoms, as the price of their  
friendship. Lucan, where he relates the plundering of the trea-  
sury by Julius Cæsar, particularly describes the spoils and trea-  
sures accumulated by these rulers of the world, *Pharsal.* iii.  
155, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 50. — *there mount Palatine,*

*The imperial palace, compass huge, and high*

*The structure,]* In the following passage from



With gilded battlements conspicuous far,  
 Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires :  
 Many a fair edifice besides, more like      55  
 Houses of gods, (so well I have dispos'd

Claudian we may perhaps trace something like the groundwork of this description of Rome, *De VI. Conf. Hon.* 35.

“ Ecce *Palatino* crevit reverentia monti,  
 “ Exultatque habitante Deo, potioraque Delphis  
 “ Supplicibus late populis oracula pandit;  
 “ Atque suas ad signa jubet revirescere laurus.  
 “ Non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis  
 “ Esse larem, nulloque magis se colle potestas  
 “ *Æstimat*, et summi sentit fastigia juris.  
 “ *Attollens apicem* subiectis regia rostris  
 “ Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum  
 “ Cingitur excubiis. Juvat infra tecta Tonantis  
 “ Cernere *Tarpeia* pendentes rupe Gigantas,  
 “ Cælatasque fores, mediisque volantia signa  
 “ Nubibus, et densum stipantibus æthera templis,  
 “ *Æræque* vestitis numerosa puppe columnis  
 “ Consta, subnixasque jugis immanibus ædes,  
 “ Naturam cumulante manu; spoliisque micantes  
 “ Innumeros arcus. *Acies* stupet igne metalli,  
 “ Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 54. *Turrets, and terraces,*] Mr. Dunster remarks, that Milton here seems to have blended the old *English* castle with his *Roman view*. And Mr. Warton thinks that Milton was impressed with this idea from his vicinity to Windsor castle. See *Comus*, ver. 934. However, in both passages, especially in this before us, Milton has imitated Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* v. ix. 21.

— “ they a stately *pallace* did behold  
 “ Of pompous show, much more then she had told,  
 “ With many TOWRES and TARRAS mounted hyc,  
 “ And all their tops bright glistering with gold,  
 “ That seem'd to outline &c.” TODD.

Ver. 56. *Houses of gods,*] This is the true reading. Some editions read “ Houses of God.” TODD.

My aery microscope,) thou may'st behold,  
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,  
 Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers,  
 In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold. 60  
 Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see  
 What conflux issuing forth, or entering in ;  
 Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces  
 Hast'ing; or on return, in robes of state,  
 Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power, 65  
 Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings :  
 Or embassies from regions far remote,

Ver. 58. *Outside and inside both,*] So Menippus, in Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus*, could see clearly and distinctly, from the moon, cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both *without doors, and within*, 'where they thought themselves most secret. Καλαχύψας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑώρων ζαφῶς τὰς πόλεις, τὰς ἀνθρώπους, τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ ἐν τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποσα οἰκοῖ ἱπράττον, οἰόμενοι λανθάνειν. Luciani Opp. vol. ii. p. 197. Edit. Græv. CALTON.

Ver. 63. *Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces*

*Hast'ing, or on return, in robes of state, &c.*] The rapacity of the Roman provincial governours, and their eagerness to take possession of their *prey*, is here strongly marked by the word *hast'ing*. Their pride and vanity was not less than their rapacity, and was displayed not only in their triumphs, but in their magisterial state upon all occasions. The pride and state of the Roman magistrates is noticed by Sallust, who also refers to their infamously rapacious conduct ;—" incedunt per ora vestra magnifice sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi ea honori, non *prædæ*, habeant." *Bell. Jugurth.* C. 31. DUNSTER.

Ver. 66. ——— turms] *Troops* of horse, a word coined from the Latin, *turma*. Virg. *Æn.* v. 560. " equitum *turmæ*." NEWTON.

In various habits, on the Appian road,  
Or on the Æmilian; some from farthest south,  
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls, 70

Ver. 68. ————— on the Appian road,

Or on the Æmilian;] The Appian road from Rome led towards the south of Italy, and the Æmilian towards the north. The nations on the Appian road are included in ver. 69—76, those on the Æmilian in ver. 77—79. NEWTON.

Ver. 69. ————— some from farthest south,

Syene,] Milton had in view what he read in Pliny and other authors, that *Syene* was the limit of the Roman Empire, and the remotest place to the south that belonged to it. Or it may be said that poets have not scrupled to give the epithets *extremi*, *ultimi*, to any people that lived a great way off; and that possibly Milton intended farthest south to be so applied both to *Syene* and to *Meroe*. JORTIN.

He first mentions places in *Africa*; *Syene*, a city of Egypt on the confines of Ethiopia; “Ditionis Ægypti esse incipit a fine Æthiopiz Syene;” Plin. Lib. v. Sect. 9.; *Meroe*, an island and city of Ethiopia, in the river Nile, therefore called *Nilotick isle*, where the shadow both way falls; “Rufus in Meroe, (insula hæc caputque gentis Æthiopum—in amne Nilo habitatur,) bis anno absumi umbras;” Plin. Lib. ii. Sect. 73.; the realm of *Bocchus*, Mauritania. Then *Asian* nations; among these the golden *Chersonese*, Malacca the most southern promontory of the East-Indies, (see *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 392;) and utmost Indian isle *Taprobane*, wherefore Pliny says it is “extra orbem a natura relegata;” Lib. vi. Sect. 22. Then the *European* nations as far as to the *Taurick pool*, that is the palus Mæotis; “Lacus ipse Mæotis, Tanain amnem ex Riphæis montibus defluentem accipiens, novissimum inter Europam Asiâque finem, &c.” Plin. Lib. iv. Sect. 12. NEWTON.

The description here, seems governed by the cardinal points. It first looks *southward*, to Africa; then *eastward*, to Asia; then *westward*, to France, Spain, and the British Islands; then *northward*, to Germany, ancient Scythia, and the most northern European nations. Milton seems also to have had in view

Meroe, Nilotick isle ; and, more to west,  
 The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea ;  
 From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these ;  
 From India and the golden Chersonese,  
 And utmost Indian isle Taprobane, 75  
 Dusk faces with white filken turbans wreath'd ;  
 From Gallia, Gades, and the British west ;

Martial's Epigram, *De Gentium Confluxu et Congratulatione*,  
*Lib. De Spectac.* Ep. iii. DUNSTER.

Ver. 73. ————— *and Parthian among these ;*] The Tempter having failed to captivate our Lord with the view of the immense forces of the Parthians and their military preparations and skill, now endeavours to impress upon him a sense of the great power of the Roman Empire. This is displayed in the embassies of distant and powerful nations, among whom we find the Parthians, who are thus made to bow the head to the Genius of Rome. DUNSTER.

Ver. 76. *Dusk faces with white filken turbans wreath'd ;*] I have been told that a truly respectable prelate, whose taste and literary acquirements are of the first eminence, has noticed this verse as one of the most picturesque lines that he had ever met with in poetry : almost every word conveys a distinct idea, and generally one of great effect. Prudentius has a passage not dissimilar, *Hamartigen.* 499. ✓

————— “ decolor Indus

“ *Tempora pinnatis redimitus nigra sagittis.*”

See Tasso, of the Æthiopians, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvii. 94.

————— “ *per battesimo delle nere fronte.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 77. ————— *Gades,*] The old Roman name for Cadiz, or Cales, a principal sea-port of Spain, without the straits of Gibraltar ; and is here put to signify the part of Spain most distant from Rome ; which the Romans distinguished by the name of *Hispania ulterior*. DUNSTER.

Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north  
Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool. .

All nations now to Rome obedience pay ; 80  
To Rome's great emperour, whose wide domain,  
In ample territory, wealth, and power,  
Civility of manners, arts, and arms,  
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer  
Before the Parthian. These two thrones except, 85

Ver. 78. *Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north  
Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.*] The Danube  
was the southern boundary of ancient Germany. From the mouth  
of the Danube to the Palus Mæotis, all along the shores of the  
Euxine Sea, lay the European Scythians, and beyond them north-  
ward, the Sauromatæ, Sarmatæ, or Sarmatians. All the inter-  
mixed nations seem at the time of the Christian Æra to have  
been so far swallowed up in these two, as to have ranked under  
the general head of Scythians or Sarmatians; which names ancient  
historians have much confounded. These two nations extended  
themselves very far north. Cluverius says, that Sarmatia reached  
quite to the Northern Ocean; which was thence called *Oceanus  
Sarmaticus*. Juvenal joins the Sarmatians with this ocean, *Sat.*  
ii. 1, 2. Milton may therefore be understood, in this descrip-  
tion, as meaning to comprehend all the European nations from  
the banks of the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine, to the  
Northern Ocean. DUNSTER.

Ver. 84. ———— *thou justly may'st prefer  
Before the Parthian.*] The Tempter had before  
advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, B. iii. 363.

—————“ the Parthian first  
“ By my advice :”

but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable  
to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in  
a proper light. NEWTON.

There appears to me here no inconsistency whatever. What  
is here said rather marks the great and accomplished art of the

The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the fight,  
 Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd ;  
 These having shown thee, I have shown thee all

tempter, than indicates a "shuffling." Satan only varies the attack, by changing the ground on which it had not been successful. His manner of doing it is perfectly plausible. "You," says he, "may very possibly prefer an alliance with the Romans, whose power and splendour I have just displayed, to one with the Parthians; and you judge wisely in so doing." DUNSTER.

Yet, to say that Christ might *justly* prefer an alliance with the Roman, after he had said that by the Parthian he should

—————"regain, *without him not*,  
 "That which alone could truly re-install him  
 "In David's feat,"—

*argues*, I think, in the strongest sense of the expression, a *liar traced*, as the Angel denominates him in *Par. Lost*.—It is in character, however, for the Tempter to recommend the wealth and grandeur of Rome to our Lord's notice. Porphyry says, that the devils always endeavoured to entice men to worship them *by magnificent promises of riches and glory*. See Elfner in *Mat.* iv. 8, 9. Compare also B. iii. 25, and Mr. Thyer's note on the passage. TODD.

Ver. 88. ————— *I have shown thee all*

*The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.*] The Poet in the preceding Book had displayed at large the military power of the Parthian empire. In the beginning of this Book he shows and describes Imperial Rome, the "Queen of the Earth," in all her magnificence of splendour and pride of power; and introduces the rest of the world as subject to her, doing homage to her greatness, and suing to her with embassies. Thus admirably has he depicted "the kingdoms of the world, and all their glory," in the great and principal empire of the Heathen world: very judiciously also and with considerable effect has he wound up his extended and highly finished description, by recurring to the *brief* account in scripture of the Devil showing our Lord *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*. *Mat.* iv. DUNSTER.

The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.  
 This emperour hath no son, and now is old, 90  
 Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd  
 To Capreæ, an island small, but strong,  
 On the Campanian shore, with purpose there  
 His horrid lusts in private to enjoy ;  
 Committing to a wicked favourite 95  
 All publick cares, and yet of him suspicious ;  
 Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,  
 Endued with regal virtues, as thou art,  
 Appearing, and beginning noble deeds, 99  
 Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne,  
 Now made a stye ; and, in his place ascending,

Ver. 90. *This emperour &c.*] This account of the emperour *Tiberius* retiring from Rome to the island *Capreæ*, and there enjoying his horrid lusts in private, and in the mean while committing the government to his *wicked favourite* and minister *Sejanus*, together with the character of this emperour ; is perfectly agreeable to the Roman histories, and particularly to those of Suetonius and Tacitus, who have painted this *monster*, as Milton calls him, in such colours, as he deserved to be described in, to posterity. NEWTON.

Ver. 95. ——— *a wicked favourite*] Our poet, I dare say, read, with great displeasure and disgust, the sulsome praises that Paternulus has disgraced himself by lavishing on Sejanus in the second book of his history. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 100. ——— *this monster*] Thus Cicero, speaking of Catiline ; “ nulla jam perniciēs a *monstro illo* atque prodigio mœnibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur.” 2. *In Catilin.* 1. DUNSTER.

See also Juvenal, *Sat.* iv. 2.

——— “ *Monstrum nullâ virtute redemptum*

“ A vitiis, æger, solâque libidine fortis.” TODD.

A victor people free from servile yoke !  
 And with my help thou may'it ; to me the power  
 Is given, and by that right I give it thee.  
 Aim therefore at no less than all the world ; 105  
 Aim at the highest : without the highest attain'd,  
 Will be for thee no fitting, or not long,  
 On David's throne, be prophesied what will.

To whom the Son of God, unmov'd, replied.  
 Nor doth this grandeur and majestick show 110  
 Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,  
 More than of arms before, allure mine eye,  
 Much less my mind ; though thou should'it add  
     to tell  
 Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts

Ver. 103. ————— - to me the power

*Is given, and by that right I give it thee.*] “ All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them ; for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it.” Luke iv. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 114. *Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts*] The poet had here perhaps in his mind the account given by Suetonius cap. 13, of the *sumptuous gluttonies of Vitellius* ; or the immense sums expended in this way by the famous Apicius, of which see Seneca, *De Consolat. Ad. Helv.* cap. 10. DUNSTER.

This line of *Paradise Regained* might perhaps have been dictated by a passage in *Comus*, v. 776.

————— “ fwinish Gluttony

“ Ne'er looks to Heaven amidst his *gorgeous feast*.”

And what follows relating to the feasts of the Romans, might be suggested by the similar, but more diffuse, remarks of an author, whose deeply learned labours could not but be highly gratifying to the inquisitive mind of Milton. See Hakewill's *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God*, edit. 1630. Lib. iv.



On citron tables or Atlantick stone, 115  
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read,)

Cap 6. Sect. 6. "Of the costliness and curious workmanship of the vessels out of which they [the Romans] drank, which was likewise a means to draw them on to excessive drinking. Cap. 7. Of the excessive gluttony of the Romans, Sect. 1. Of their costly tables, their huge platters, &c." See also the notes, P. R. B. ii. 180, 353, &c. and my account of the life of Milton. TODD.

Ver. 115. *On citron tables or Atlantick stone,*] Tables made of citron wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania*. They were beautifully veined and spotted. See his account of them, Lib. xiii. Sect. 29. I do not find that the *Atlantick stone* or marble was so celebrated: the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mentioned in Roman authors. NEWTON.

This citron wood, which grew upon Mount Atlas in Mauritania, was held by the Romans equally valuable with gold, if not superiour to it. Hence Martial, L. xiv. *Ep.* lxxxvii.

"Accipe felices, *Atlantica* munera, sylvas :

"Aurea qui dederit, dona minora dabit."

And Varro, De R. R. iii. 2. "Nuncubi hic vides *citrum*, aut *aurum*." Citron tables are mentioned by Lucan in his description of the gorgeous feast given by Cleopatra to Cæsar, *Pharſal.* x. 144.

"Dentibus hæc niveis sectos *Atlantide* sylvâ

"Imposuerunt orbes."

Milton could not mean to celebrate any marble under the name of "Atlantick stone;" for it does not appear that the Romans ever used marble for tables. *Atlantick* must therefore have a reference to this citron wood, which is said to have grown nowhere but upon Mount Atlas. It might perhaps be called "*Atlantick marble*" or "*stone*," from its marble-like appearance; being curiously veined and spotted. DUNSTER.

The old scholiast on Horace, Sat. i. vi. 116, mentions a particular kind of *marble* table, however, in use among the Romans, called "*mensa Delphica*." TODD.

Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,  
Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,  
Crystal, and myrrhine cups, embofs'd with gems  
And studs of pearl; to me should't tell, who thirst

Ver. 117. *Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,  
Chios, and Crete,]* The three former were of the  
most famous Campanian wines among the Romans. The *Falernian*  
was commonly considered as their prime wine. Hence Virgil,  
*Georg.* ii. 96.

———“nec cellis ideo contende *Falernis*.”

And Tibullus, speaking of the Falernian district, terms it  
“*Bacchi cura, Falernus ager.*” L. i. *El.* 9. Martial speaks of  
*Setia*, now *Sczza*, famous for its wine, and its situation on the  
brow of a hill, L. xiii. *Ep.* 112. See also L. x. *Ep.* 74. And  
Horace speaks of the *Calenian* wine as a luxury of the highest  
kind, *Od.* I. xxxi. 9. Pliny, speaking of the wines imported into  
Italy, says, “in summâ gloria fuerunt Thasium *Chiumque*. Ex  
*Chio* quod *Arvisium* vocant.” xiv. 7. See also Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 71,  
and Silius Italicus, lib. vii. 210. Horace places the *Chian*  
among the rich wines in the miser's cellar, *Sat.* II. iii. 115; he  
likewise alludes to the high estimation in which this wine was  
held, *Ode* III. xix. 5. The wines of *Crete* are joined with those  
of *Chios* or *Scios*, by Tasso, *Gerusal. Lib.* i. 78. And *Cretan*  
wine is mentioned, together with the *Chian* and other celebrated  
wines of Greece, by Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 31. DUNSTER.

Ver. 118. ————— how they quaff in gold,

*Crystal, and myrrhine cups, embofs'd with gems*

*And studs of pearl;]* Crystal and myrrhine cups are

often joined together by ancient authors. “*Murrhina et crystal-  
lina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fra-  
gilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, hæc vera luxuriæ gloria existi-  
mata est, habere quod posset statim totum perire.*” Plin. Lib.  
xxxiii. *Proem.* We see that Pliny reckons *myrrhine* cups among  
fossils: Scaliger, Salmassius, and others, contend from this verse  
of Propertius, iv. 26.

“Murrheaque in Parthis pocula coëta focus,”

that they were like our porcelain: but if they were so very

And hunger still. Then embassies thou shov'st  
 From nations far and nigh; what honour that,  
 But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear  
 So many hollow compliments and lies,

fragile as they are represented to be, it is not easy to conceive how they could be *emboss'd with gems and studs of pearl*. I suppose our author asserted it from the words immediately following in Pliny; "Nec hoc fuit satis: turba gemmarum potamus, et smaragdus teximus calices: ac temulentiae causa tenere Indiam juvat: et aurum jam accessio est." Or perhaps the words, *emboss'd with gems*, &c. refer only to gold first mentioned, which is no unusual construction: *They quaff in gold emboss'd with gems and studs of pearl*. NEWTON.

Hakewill, in his *Apologie* &c., may here again be cited. Sect. 6. as in the note on ver. 114. He is translating Pliny: "When the toy takes vs in the head, all our delight is in chased and *embossed* plate, or else so carved, engraven, and deepe cut in, as it is rough againe in the hand, &c." Then Hakewill adds, "These *celatures* in their drinking cups were so fram'd, that they might put them on or take them off at pleasure, and were therefore called *emblemata*." Such was that whereof the satyrist [Juvenal] speaks, *stantem extra pocula caprum*, 'a goat standing out from the cup.'—Sometimes were they made of *onix* stones drawne out of the mountaines of Arabia; sometimes of mother of pearle, or some rare pretious shels. And all these kinde they *richly inamel'd with pearles and pretious stones*."

Compare a most beautiful passage in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. i. st. 26.

"That they may *drink in pearl*, and couch their head

"In soft, but sleepleffe down; in rich, but restleffe bed."

Then follows, in the 27th stanza, which Mr. Dunster also notes,

"Oh! let them *in their gold quaffe* dropies down." TODD.

Ver. 124. *So many hollow compliments and lies,*

*Outlandish flatteries?*] Possibly not without an allusion to the congratulatory embassies on the Restoration.

DUNSTER,

Outlandish flatteries? Then proceed't to talk 125  
 Of the émpour, how easily subdued,  
 How gloriously : I shall, thou say'ſt, expel  
 A brutiſh monſter ; what if I withal  
 Expel a Devil who firſt made him ſuch ?  
 Let his tormenter conſcience find him out ; 130  
 For him I was not ſent ; nor yet to free  
 That people, victor once, now vile and baſe ;  
 Deſervedly made vaſſal ; who, once juſt,  
 Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,  
 But govern ill the nations under yoke, 135  
 Peeling their provinces, exhausted all

Ver. 130. *Let his tormenter conſcience find him out ;*] Milton, as Dr. Jortin obſerves, had here in his mind Tacitus, who, having related the extraordinary letters written by Tiberius to the Senate, adds ; “ Adeo facinora atque flagitia ſua ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant. Neque fruſtra præſtantiffimus ſapientiæ firmare ſolitus eſt, ſi recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus et ietus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita ſævitiâ, libidine, malis conſultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur.” *Annal.* vi. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 132. *That people, victor once, now vile and baſe ; &c.]* This deſcription of the corruption and decline of the Roman empire, contained in this and the following ten lines, is at once conciliſely fine, and accurately juſt. DUNSTER.

Ver. 136. *Peeling &c.]* *Peeling* is *pillaging* their provinces ; which is ſpelt *pillig* by Chaucer, Spenſer, and other old Engliſh poets. See alſo Barret's *Alvearie*, 1584 : “ To pill or poll.” But Sir R. Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1641, affords the beſt illuſtration of Milton's expreſſion, where, ſpeaking of the Earl of Leiceſter's father, he ſays, “ his eſtate conſiſcate, and that for *peeling* and polling.” The word *peeled* for *pillaged* is uſed by our tranſlators of the Bible. See *Iſaiak* xviii. 2. “ Go,

By lust and rapine ; first ambitious grown  
Of triumph, that insulting vanity ;  
'Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd

ye swift messengers to a nation scattered and *peeled*." Hakewill has a very curious section on the conduct of the Romans here noticed by Milton, entitled " Their unmerciful *pill*ing and *po*lling, *rob*b<sup>ing</sup> and *spoy*ling the provinces, not sparing the very temples and things sacred." Lib. iv. cap. 5. Sect. 3. TODD.

Ver. 139. *Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd  
Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd ;  
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,  
And from the daily scene effeminate.*]

The connection of luxury, cruelty, and effeminacy, has been often remarked in all ages. Athenæus notices the cruelty of the people of Miletus as connected with their luxury ; and, speaking of some Scythian nations, he describes them advancing in cruelty, in proportion as they plunged themselves in luxury and effeminacy, καὶ πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τῷ ΤΡΥΦᾶΝ ὀρμήσαντες, εἰς τὸ προῆλθον ὑβρεως, ὡς πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς οὓς ἀφίκοντο ἡκροτερίαν τὰς ῥίνας. p. 525. Ed. Caufab. The Ionians are described by the same author as " devoid of philanthropy, chearfulness, and even natural affection, and shewing upon all occasions a disposition of the most unfeeling kind ;" and at the same time he notices " their habits of luxury and effeminacy," τὰ Ἰωνῶν ἦθη τρυφερώτερα. p. 625. Tacitus connects luxury and cruelty together in the character of Otho. Having spoken of Vitellius as " ventre et gula sibi ipsi hostis," he adds, " Otho, *luxu, servitia*, audaciâ, reipublicæ exitiosior ducebatur." *Hist.* ii. 31. The effeminacy of the Romans, as luxury advanced, became a subject of complaint and censure to all their moralists and historians. " Miramur," says Columella, " gestus effeminatorum, quod a naturâ sexum viris denegatum muliebri motu mentiantur, decipiântque oculos spectantium." L. i. Nero assumed the dress and behaviour of a woman, and was actually several times married, with much ostentation of the nuptial rites, to several of his minions. Eliogabalus imitated his example in this, and in other disgraceful instances. Milton probably alluded to some of these circumstances in the Roman history. DUNSTER.

Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd; 140  
 Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,  
 And from the daily scene effeminate.

What wife and valiant man would seek to free  
 These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslav'd?  
 Or could of inward slaves make outward free?

The poet, in his *History of England*, at the conclusion, thus speaks of the dissolute life of the English: "The great men given to *gluttony* and *dissolute life*—the meaner sort spent all they had in *drunkenness*—attended with other *vices* which *effeminate* men's minds." TODD.

Ver. 140. *Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd;*] The *fighting beasts* are a poor instance of the Roman cruelty in their sports, in comparison of the gladiators; who might have been introduced so naturally and easily here, only by putting the word *gladiators* in place of the other two, that one may very well be surpris'd at the poet's omitting them. See Seneca's viith Epistle.

CALTON.

*Beast-fights* were exhibited among the Romans with great variety. Sometimes, by bringing water into the amphitheatre, even *sea-monsters* were introduced for the purpose of combating with wild beasts. This is mentioned by Calphurnius, *Ecl.* vii. 65. The men that fought with wild beasts were called *bestiarii*. These were principally condemned persons; although there were some who hired themselves like *gladiators*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 141. *Luxurious by their wealth, &c.*] Manilius, iv. 10.

"Luxuriamque lucris emimus, luxuque rapinas."

DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *Or could of inward slaves make outward free?*] This noble sentiment Milton explains more fully, and expresses more diffusely, in his *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 90.

———— "therefore since he permits  
 "Within himself unworthy powers to reign  
 "Over free reason, God in judgement just  
 "Subjects him from without to violent lords; &c."

Know therefore, when my season comes to fit  
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree

So also again, in his xiith *Sonnet*,

“Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;

“*For who loves that, must first be wise and good.*”

No one had ever more refined notions of true liberty than Milton; and I have often thought that there never was a greater proof of the weakness of human nature, than that he, with a head so clear, and a heart, I really believe, perfectly honest and disinterested, should concur in supporting such a tyrant and professed trampler upon the liberties of his country, as Cromwell was. THYER.

The following citation, from a truly philosophical work, may be no improper comment on this passage of Milton. “Were a nation given to be moulded by a sovereign, as clay is put into the hands of the potter, this project of bestowing liberty on a people who are actually servile, is perhaps of all others the most difficult, and requires most to be executed in silence, and with the deepest reserve. Men are qualified to receive this blessing, only in proportion as they are made to apprehend their own rights, and are made to respect the just pretensions of mankind; in proportion as they are willing to sustain in their own persons the burthen of government and of national defence, and to prefer the engagements of a liberal mind to the enjoyments of sloth, and the delusive hopes of a safety purchased by submission and fear.” FERGUSON *on Civil Society*, p. 6. f. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 146. *Know therefore, when my season comes to fit*

*On David's throne, &c.*] A particular manner of expression, but frequent in Milton; as if he had said, Know therefore when the season comes, to sit on David's throne, that throne *shall be like a tree* &c. alluding to the parable of the mustard-seed grown into “*a tree, so that the birds lodge in the branches thereof*,” Matt. xiii. 32; and to, (what that parable also respects,) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great “*tree whose height reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth*,” Dan. iv. 11. Tertullian also compares the kingdom of Christ to that of Nebuchadnezzar. See Grotius in Matt.

Spreading and overshadowing all the earth ;  
 Or as a stone, that shall to pieces dash  
 All monarchies besides throughout the world ; 150  
 And of my kingdom there shall be no end :  
 Means there shall be to this ; but what the means,  
 Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the Tempter, impudent, replied.  
 I see all offers made by me how slight 155  
 Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st :  
 Nothing will please the difficult and nice,  
 Or nothing more than still to contradict :  
 On the other side know also thou, that I  
 On what I offer set as high esteem, 160  
 Nor what I part with mean to give for nought ;  
 All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,  
 The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give,

*Or as a stone, &c.* alluding to the stone in another of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, which brake the image in pieces, and so this kingdom "*shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*" Dan. ii. 44. "*And of my kingdom there shall be no end.*" the very words of Luke, i. 33, with the only necessary change of the person. NEWTON.

There is an allusion also to *Psalms* ii. 9, which prefigures the kingdom of Christ triumphant over all nations : "Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." TODD.

Ver. 157. *Nothing will please the difficult and nice,*] Mr. Jortin and Mr. Symphon say, that perhaps we should read "*thee* difficult and nice." But I think the *ictus* falls better in the common reading, and the sentence is better as a general observation. NEWTON.

And yet, by the particular application of *nicely* to Christ, in ver. 277 of this Book, the conjecture of Jortin and Symphon seems supported. TODD.



(For, given to me, I give to whom I please,)  
 No trifle ; yet with this reserve, not else, 165  
 On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,  
 And worship me as thy superiour lord,

Ver. 166. *On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,*

*And worship me as thy superiour lord,]* In my opinion, (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the observation,) there is nothing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem so justly liable to censure, as the awkward and preposterous introduction of this incident in this place. The Tempter should have proposed the condition at the same time that he offered the gifts, as he doth in Scripture; but after his gifts had been absolutely refused, to what purpose was it to propose *the impious condition*? Could he imagine that our Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon *the abominable terms* of falling down and worshipping him, just after he had rejected them unclogged with any terms at all? Well might the author say that Satan *impudent replied*; but that doth not solve the objection.

NEWTON.

I differ entirely from Dr. Newton and his very able coadjutor, respecting this part of the poem. The management of the poet seems so far from objectionable, that I conceive *this passage* to be a striking instance of his great judgement in arranging his work, as well as of his great skill in decorating it. The conduct and demeanour of Satan had hitherto been artfully plausible, and such as seemed most likely to forward his designs. At the beginning of this Book, after repeated defeats, he is described desperate of success, and “flung from his hope;” but still he proceeds. Upon his next attack failing, the paroxysm of his desperation rises to such a height, that he is completely thrown off his guard, and at once betrays himself and his purpose, by bringing forward, with the most intemperate indiscretion, those *abominable terms*, which, could it have been possible for his temptations to have succeeded, we may imagine were intended in the end to have been proposed to our Lord. This then is the ἀναγνώρισις, or full discovery who Satan really was; for it must be observed, that though Jesus in the first Book (ver. 356.) had declared that he knew the Tempter through his disguise, still the

(Easily done,) and hold them all of me;  
For what can less so great a gift deserve?

Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain.  
I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less; 171  
Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter  
The abominable terms, impious condition:  
But I endure the time, till which expir'd  
Thou hast permission on me. It is written, 175  
The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship  
The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve;  
And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound  
To worship thee accurs'd? now more accurs'd  
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve, 180  
And more blasphemous; which expect to rue.

Temptation proceeds in the same manner as if he had not known him: at least our Lord's conduct is not represented as influenced by any suspicion of an insidious adversary. As to *proposing the condition together with the gifts*; this I conceive could not be done without changing the whole plan of the poem, as by pushing the question immediately to a point, it must have precluded the gradually progressive temptations which the poet so finely brings forward. It might perhaps have been wished that the circumstance of Satan's betraying himself and his purpose, under the irritation of defeat and desperation, had been kept back till the subsequent temptation, in the highly-finished description of Athens with all its pride of learning and philosophy, had been tried, and had also failed. But the apologetick speech of Satan (ver. 196.) in which he recovers himself from his intemperate impetuosity, and repairs the indiscretion of his present violent irritation, so far as to pave the way for another temptation, is not only marked with such singular art and address as is truly admirable, but likewise gives a material variety and relief to this part of the poem; which I cannot wish to have been in any respect different from what it is, as I do not conceive that even Milton himself could have improved it. DUNSTER.

The kingdoms of the world to thee were given?  
 Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd;  
 Other donation none thou canst produce.  
 If given, by whom but by the King of kings, 185  
 God over all supreme? If given to thee,  
 By thee how fairly is the giver now  
 Repaid! But gratitude in thee is lost  
 Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,  
 As offer them to me, the Son of God? 190  
 To me my own, on such abhorred pact,  
 That I fall down and worship thee as God?  
 Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st  
 That Evil-one, Satan for ever damn'd.

To whom the Fiend, with fear abash'd, replied.  
 Be not so fore offended, Son of God, 196  
 Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men,

Ver. 185. ————— *the King of kings,  
 God over all supreme?*] I Tim. vi. 15. "Who  
 is the blessed and only potentate, *the King of kings, and Lord of  
 lords.*" And "Who is *over all*, God blessed for ever." Romans,  
 ix. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 188. ————— *But gratitude in thee is lost  
 Long since.*] Milton had made Satan declare  
 "long" before, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 109.

————— "all good to me is lost;  
 "Evil, be thou my good!" DUNSTER.

Ver. 194. *That Evil-one,*] The ὁ πονηρὸς, the pre-eminently  
 wicked one. See Dr. Lort's *Short Commentary on the Lord's  
 Prayer*, in which he proves this to be one of the three names,  
 applied to the great apostate Spirit in Scripture, pp. 24, 25.

TODD.

Ver. 195. ————— *with fear abash'd,*] He was *abash'd*  
 on a former occasion, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 846. TODD.

If I, to try whether in higher fort  
 Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd  
 What both from Men and Angels I receive, 200  
 Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,  
 Nations beside from all the quarter'd winds,  
 God of this world invok'd, and world beneath :  
 Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold  
 To me most fatal, me it most concerns ; . . . 205  
 The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,  
 Rather more honour left and more esteem ;  
 Me nought advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.  
 Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,  
 The kingdoms of this world ; I shall no more 210  
 Advise thee ; gain them as thou canst, or not.  
 And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd  
 Than to a worldly crown ; addicted more  
 To contemplation and profound dispute,  
 As by that early action may be judg'd, 215  
 When, slipping from thymother's eye, thou went'st  
 Alone into the temple, there wast found  
 Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant  
 On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,

Ver. 203. *God of this world invok'd,*] Milton pursues the same notion which he had adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, of the Gods of the Gentiles being the fallen Angels, and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the heathens of worshipping devils for deities. **THYER.**

The devil, in Scripture, is termed "*the God of this world,*" II Cor. iv. 4. **DUNSTER.**

Ver. 219. ——— *fitting Moses' chair,*] *Moses' chair*

Teaching, not taught. The childhood shows  
the man, 220

As morning shows the day: be famous then  
By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,  
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world  
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.  
All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law, 225  
The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;  
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach  
To admiration, led by Nature's light,  
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,  
Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st; 230

either publickly to the people, or privately to their disciples.  
“The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair,” *ἐπὶ τῆς Μωσίου  
καθέδρας*, Matt. xxiii. 2. NEWTON.

Ver. 221. ————— *be famous then*

*By wisdom;*] We are now come to the last temptation, properly so called; and it is worth the reader's while to observe how well Satan has pursued the scheme which he had proposed in council, B. ii. 225.

“Therefore with manlier objects we must try

“His constancy; with such as have more show

“Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise.”

The gradation also in the several allurements proposed is very fine; and I believe one may justly say, that there never was a more exalted system of morality comprised in so short a compass. Never were the arguments for vice dressed up in more delusive colours, nor were they ever answered with more solidity of thought, or acuteness of reasoning, THYER.

Ver. 230. *Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st;*] Alluding to those charming lines, B. i. 221.

“Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first

“By winning words to conquer willing hearts,

“And make persuasion do the work of fear.” NEWTON.

Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,  
 Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?  
 How wilt thou reason with them, how refute  
 Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?  
 Errour by his own arms is best evinc'd. 235  
 Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,  
 Westward, much nearer by south-west, behold;

Ver. 234. — [*idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?*] *Idolisms* is, I believe, a word of Milton's own fabrication. It seems not so much to mean the idolatrous worship of the Gentiles, as the opinions with which they might endeavour to defend it. By *traditions*, we may understand opinions collected from those philosophers who instructed publicly, without committing any of their precepts to writing; which was the case with Pythagoras, Numa, and Lycurgus. See the lives of the two latter by Plutarch. And *paradoxes* allude to the paradoxes of the Stoick philosophers, then in high repute. DUNSTER.

Ver. 235. *Errour by his own arms is best evinc'd.*] *Evinc'd* is here used in its Latin signification of *subdued* or *conquered*; in which sense it is more forcible and appropriate, than, as it is more commonly used by us, to *show*, or *prove*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 236. — — — — — [*this specular mount,*] See Hume's note on *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 588. TODD.

Ver. 237. *Westward, much nearer by south-west,*] This might be understood W. by S. that is, one point from west towards south-west; which is nearly the actual position of Athens, with respect to Mount Niphates. Or it may only mean, that our Lord had no occasion to change his situation on the western side of the mountain (see ver. 25. of this Book); but only, as the latitude of Athens was four degrees southward of that of Rome, that he must now direct his view so much more towards the south-west, than when he was looking at Rome, which lay nearly due west, or in a small degree north-west of Mount Niphates.

DUNSTER.

Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,  
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;  
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts 240

Ver. 238. *Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,]* The following description of Athens, and its learning, is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favourable occasion; and, like the sun from under a cloud, bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, though not more strongly, in the *Paradise Lost*. TAYLOR.

I cannot persuade myself that our author, when he selected his subject, and formed his plan, considered himself as any ways cramped down by it. I have no doubt that he looked forward with pleasure to the opportunities, which he foresaw it would afford him, of introducing this and other admirable descriptions; and that he was particularly aware of the great effect which the *argumentative cast* of part of his poem would give to that which is purely *descriptive*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 239. *Built nobly,]* Homer, speaking of Athens, calls it a well-built city, Il. ii. 546.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον εὐκτίμενον ποταλίεθρον. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *pure the air, and light the soil;]* Attica being a mountainous country, the soil was light, and the air sharp and pure; and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits.—τὴν εὐκράσιαν τῶν ὄρων ἐν αὐτῷ κατιδῶσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτης ἀνδρας εἴσι. Plato in *Timæo*. p. 24. vol. 3. Ed. Serr. "Athenis tenue cælum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici." Cicero, *De Fato*, 4. NEWTON.

*Pure the air, and light the soil,* Mr. Calton remarks, is from Dio Chrysostom. *Orat.* vii. where, speaking of Attica, he says, εἶναι γὰρ τὴν χώραν ἀραιαν, καὶ τὸν αἶρα κέφον. A variety of passages, which assert the clearness and pureness of the air of Athens, may be seen in Gronov. *Thesaur. Gr. Antiq. De Fortuna Atticarum*, vol. 5. p. 1696, edit. fol. 1699. TODD.

Ver. 240. *Athens, the eye of Greece,]* Demosthenes somewhere calls Athens *the eye of Greece*, ὀφθαλμός; Ἑλλάδος; but I

And eloquence, native to famous wits  
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,

cannot at present recollect the place. In Justin it is called one of the two *eyes* of Greece, Sparta being the other (L. v. C. 8.) and Catullus (xxxii. 1.) terms Sirmio the *eye* of islands;

“ Peninsularum Sirmio, infularumque  
“ *Ocelle.*”

But the metaphor is more properly applied to *Athens* than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning. NEWTON.

I cannot discover the passage in Demosthenes referred to by Dr. Newton. Thyfius, in a note on Justin, (L. ii. C. 6. *Ed. Varior.*) and on Valerius Maximus, (*Ed. Varior.* L. i. C. 6. *Exempl. Patern.* 1.) notices that Athens is mentioned by Demosthenes under this description, *the eye of Greece*: but no reference is made to the particular passage. DUNSTER.

Philo has the following expression, relating to Athens, Ὅπιν γὰρ ἐν ὈΦΘΑΛΜΩ ΚΟΡΗ, ἣ ἐν ψυχῇ λογισμὸς, τῆς ἐν ἙΛΛΑΔΙ ἈΘΗΝΑΙ, Phil. Jud. *Opp.* vol. ii. p. 467. edit. Mangey. This is cited in Gronovius, but I do not find ὁφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος among the other titles therein applied to Athens. TODD.

Ver. 240. ————— mother of arts

And eloquence,] Justin, (L. v. C. 9.) terms Athens “ *Patria communis eloquentiae.*” And (L. ii. C. 6.) he says, “ *Litteræ certe et facundia veluti templum Athenas habent.*” Cicero abounds in panegyrics upon this celebrated seat of learning and eloquence. He describes it *illas omnium doctrinarum incentrices Athenas, in quibus summa dicendi vis et intenta est, et perfecta.*” De Orator. L. i. 13. *Ed. Proust.* And in his *Brutus*, sect. 39. he characterises it “ *ea urbs, in qua et nata, et alta, sit eloquentia.*”

DUNSTER.

It should be added, that “ *the mother of eloquence*” was a title peculiarly applied to Athens. See Gronov. *Thefaur. Gr. Antiq.* vol. v. ed. supr. p. 1730. “ *Pervenit ad matrem sermonum Athenas.*” Again, *ibid.* ἐν τῇ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. The same title existed on an ancient inscription. See *ibid.* p. 1731. TODD.



City or fuburban, ftudious walks and fhades.  
See there the olive grove of Academe,

nians as “hospitable to wits” of other countries, by admitting all perfons whatever to benefit by the instruction of the learned teachers in their city; τὴν πατρίδα κοινὸν παιδευτῆριον παρεχομένους πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, L. xiii. C. 27. The Athenians were remarkable for their general hospitality towards strangers, to whom their city was always open, and for whose reception and accommodation they had particular officers, under the title of *πρόξενοι*, i. e. *the receivers of strangers in the name of the whole city*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. ——— *the olive grove of Academe*, The Academy is always described as a woody, shady, place, Diogenes Laertius calls it *πρόασιον ἈΛΣΩΔΕΣ*; and Horace speaks of the “*sylvas Academi*,” 2 *Epist.* ii. 45. But Milton distinguishes it by the particular name of *the olive grove of Academe*, because the olive was particularly cultivated about Athens, being sacred to Minerva the goddess of the city, he has besides the express authority of Aristophanes, *Nub.* v. 1001.

Ἄλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν κατιῶν, ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρέξεις.

NEWTON.

This whole description of the Academe is infinitely charming. Dr. Newton has justly observed that “Plato’s Academy was never more beautifully described,” “Cicero,” he adds, “who has laid the scene of one of his dialogues (*De Fin.* L. v.) there, and who had been himself on the spot, has not painted it in more lively colours.” Plutarch, in his treatise *de exilio*, refers to the three celebrated gymnasia of Athens here noticed by the poet; the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa, or Portico. And the same author, in his *Life of Sylla*, speaking of the Academy, (the trees of which he says Sylla cut down,) describes it to have been more abounding with trees than any part of the suburbs of Athens, ΔΕΝΔΡΟΦΟΡΩΤΑΤΗΝ *πρόασιον*.

The reader will find an elegant description of the Academies and of the other publick gardens to which the Learned at Athens resorted, in Dr. Falconer’s “*Historical View of the Taste for Gardening; and Laying-out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity*,” p. 30. DUNSTER.

Plato's retirement, where the Attick bird 245  
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;

Ver. 245. *Plato's retirement,*] Diogenes Laertius relates, in his *Life of Plato*, that Plato, "being returned to Athens from his journey to Egypt, settled himself in the Academy, a gymnasium or place of exercise in the suburbs of that city, beset with woods, taking name from Academus, one of the heroes, as Eupolis,

In sacred Academus shady walks,  
and he was buried in the Academy, where he continued most of his time teaching philosophy, whence the sect which sprung from him was called Academick." NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *where the Attick bird*

*Trills her thick-warbled notes &c.*] Philomela, who according to the fables, was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion king of Athens. Hence the nightingale is called *Atthis* in Latin, quasi Attica avis; thus Martial, L. i. Ep. 54.

"Sic ubi multifona fervet facer Atthide lucus, &c."

NEWTON.

The nightingale is with peculiar propriety introduced in this description of the Academy, in the neighbourhood of which, we learn from Pausanias (L. i. C. 30.), lay the place called *Colonus Equestris*, which Sophocles has made the scene of his *Edipus Coloneus*; and which he celebrates as particularly abounding with nightingales, v. 19, and v. 704. DUNSTER.

Ver. 246. *Trills her thick-warbled notes*] Dr. Newton observes that perhaps there never was a verse more expressive of the harmony of the nightingale than this. Homer has a description of the song of that bird, which is not dissimilar, *Odys.* xix. 521.

———— Πανδαρὸς κῆρη χλωρῆς ἀνδῶν ————

Ἦτε θαμὰ τρυπῶσα ΧΕΕΙ ΠΟΛΥΤΗΧΕΑ ΦΩΝΗΝ. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ———— *the summer long;*] The nightingale is commonly supposed to sing only in the spring, and not during summer. Milton describes it singing in the end of

There flowery hill Hymettus, with the found  
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites  
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls

April, in his *Sonnet to the Nightingale*. Sappho, in a verse preserved by the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electr.* 148, terms this bird

ΗΡΟΣ Δ' ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἡμερόφωνος ἀνδῶν.

Pliny says, that the song of the nightingale continues in its greatest perfection only fifteen days, from which time it gradually declines. "Afterwards, as summer advances," he adds, "it loses all its variety and modulation." *Mox æstu autto in totum alia vox fit, nec modulata, nec varia.* L. x. 29. It seems therefore extraordinary that our author should here describe this bird of spring, singing "the summer long." We might indeed suppose that this protracted song of the nightingale, was an intended compliment to the classick spot, "Plato's retirement;" as the Thracians affirmed that the nightingales near the tomb of Orpheus sung with uncommon melody, and in a strain far superior to what they did in any other place. Λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Θράκες αἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσι νοσσιὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῷ Οἰφείῳ, ταύτας ἡδίων καὶ μείζον τι ᾄδειν. Pausan. L. ix. C. 30. But on referring to the various passages in the *Paradise Lost*, where Milton has introduced this bird, it does not appear that he considered it as singing only in the spring. *The song of the nightingale* is in fact one of his favourite circumstances of description, when he is painting a summer's night. DUNSTER.

Ver. 247. *There flowery hill Hymettus, &c.*] Valerius Flaccus calls it *Florea juga Hymetti*, Argonaut, v. 344; and the honey was so much esteemed and celebrated by the ancients, that it was reckoned the best of the Attick honey, as the Attick honey was said to be the best in the world. The poets often speak of the murmur of the bees as inviting to sleep, Virg. *Ecl.* i. 56. "Sæpe levi somnum suadebit inire fufurro;" but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and says that it *invites to studious musing*, which was more proper indeed for his purpose, as he is here describing the Attick learning. NEWTON.

Ver. 249. ————— *Ilissus*] Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phædrus on the banks, and at the spring, of this

His whispering stream: within the walls, then view  
 The schools of ancient sages; his, who bred 251  
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,  
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next:

pleasant river. — χαρίεντα γὰρ καὶ καθαρά καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ ὑδάτια φαίνεται. Edit. Serr. vol. iii. p. 229. The philosophical retreat at the spring-head is beautifully described by Plato, in the next page, where Socrates and Phædrus are represented sitting on a green bank, shaded with a spreading platane, of which Cicero hath said very prettily, that it seemeth not to have grown so much by the water which is described, as by Plato's eloquence; “quæ mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquula, quæ describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse.” *De Orat.* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 251. ————— who bred

[Great Alexander to subdue the world,] Milton, in his *Elegy* to his former preceptor, Thomas Young, then minister of the church of the English Merchants at Hamburg, speaks of his affection for his old master as superiour to that of Alcibiades to Socrates, or of Alexander for Aristotle, *El.* iv. 25. We are told by Cicero that Aristotle, having observed how Isocrates had risen to celebrity on the sole ground of florid declamation, (*inanem sermonis elegantiam*), was thereby induced to add to his own stock of solid knowledge, the external grace of oratorical embellishments; which recommended him so much to Philip of Macedon, that he fixed upon him to be preceptor to his son Alexander, whom he wished to be taught at once conduct and eloquence,—“et agendi præcepta, et loquendi.” *De Orator.* iii. 41. Ed. Proust. The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle upon the birth of his son, is preserved by Aulus Gellius. L. ix. C. 3. DUNSTER.

Ver. 253. *Lyceum there,*] The *Lyceum* was the school of Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the Great, and was the founder of the sect of the Peripateticks, so called, ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπατεῖν, from his *walking*, and teaching philosophy. But there is some reason to question, whether the *Lyceum* was *within the walls*, as Milton asserts. For Suidas says expressly, that it was a place in the suburbs, built by Pericles for the exercising of

There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power  
 Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit 255  
 By voice or hand ; and various-measur'd verse,  
 Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,

soldiers : and I find the scholiast upon Aristophanes in the *Irene*, speaks of going into the Lyceum, and going out of it again, and returning back into the city :—εἰς τὸ Λύκειον ἕισιοθῆες—καὶ πάλιν ἔξιοθῆες ἐκ τοῦ Λύκειου, καὶ ἄπιοθῆες εἰς τὴν πόλιν. NEWTON.

The establishment of the *Lyceum* has been attributed both to Pisistratus and Pericles. Meursius (*Athenæ Atticæ*, I. ii. C. 3.) supposes that it might have been begun by the former, and completed by the latter. Plutarch ascribes it to Pericles, who, he says, made plantations, and built a *Palæstra* there. See Life of Pericles. The same writer (*Sympos.* viii. Quæst. 4.) says that it was dedicated to Apollo, as the god of healing, and thus with propriety, because *health alone can furnish the strength requisite for all corporeal exercises and exertions.* That the *Lyceum* stood without the walls, appears from the beginning of Plato's *Lysis*, where it is positively described as being *without the walls* ; Ἐπορεύομην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας, εὐθὺς Λύκειον τὴν ἔξω τεichoῦς, ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος. Strabo also speaks of some fountains of clear and excellent water without the gates near the *Lyceum*, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Διόχαρου καλουμένων πηγῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λύκειου. I. ix. p. 397. DUNSTER.

Ver. 253. ————— *painted Stoa*] *Stoa* was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from the place had the name of Stoicks ; and this *Stoa*, or portico, being adorned with variety of paintings, was called in Greek Ποικίλη, or *various*, and here by Milton the *painted Stoa*. See Diogenes Laertius, in the Lives of Aristotle and Zeno. NEWTON.

Ver. 257. *Æolian charms &c.*] *Æolia carmina*, verses such as those of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians, Hor. *Od.* III. xxx. 13.

“ Princeps *Æolium carmen* ad Italos

“ Deduxisse modos.”

See also *Od.* IV. iii. 12. And *Dorian lyric odes* ; such as those of Pindar ; who calls his lyre Δωρίαν φόρμιγγα, *Olymp.* i. 26, &c.

NEWTON.

And his, who gave them breath, but higher sung,  
 Blind Melefigenes, thence Homer call'd,  
 Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own: 260  
 Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught

Ver. 258. *And his, &c.*] Our author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds of poetry. Such wise men as Dionysius the Halicarnassæan, and Plutarch, have attempted to show that poetry in all its forms, tragedy, comedy, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works. NEWTON.

Homer's works gave the idea of all the various species of poetry. Shaftesbury, speaking on this subject, says finely; "There was no more for Tragedy to do after him, [Homer,] than to erect a stage, and draw dialogues and characters into scenes turning in the same manner upon one principal action, or event, with that regard to place and time which was suitable to a real spectacle. Even Comedy itself was adjudged to this great master." *Characteristicks*, vol. i. p. 198. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 259. *Blind Melefigenes, thence Homer call'd,*] Our author here follows Herodotus, in his life of Homer, where it is said that he was born near the river Meles, and that from thence his mother named him at first Melefigenes, — τίθεται ὄνομα τῷ παιδί Μελισσιγίεια, ἀπὸ τῆς ποταμῆς τὴν ἱππωνυμίαν λαβῶσα, — and that afterwards when he was blind and settled at Cuma, he was called *Homer*, quasi ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν, from the term by which the Cumæans distinguished blind persons; ἐντὺθεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Ὅμηρος ἐπεκράτησε τῷ Μελισσιγίει, ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς, οἱ γὰρ Κυμαῖοι τοὺς τυφλοὺς ὁμῆρας λέγουσιν. NEWTON.

Ver. 260. *Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own:*] Alluding to a Greek Epigram, in the first book of the *Anthologia*;

Ἥειδον μὲν ἰγῶν, ἐχάρασσε δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος. NEWTON.

Ver. 261. ——— *the lofty grave tragedians*] Æschylus is thus characterised by Quintilian; "Tragedias primum in lucem Æschylus protulit, *sublimis et gravis*, et grandiloquus, &c." L. x. C. 1. Where also the same author, comparing Sophocles and Euripides says, "*gravitas, et cothurnus* et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior." Tragedy was termed *lofty* by the

In Chorus or Iambick, teachers best  
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd  
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat

ancients from its style, but at the same time not without a reference to the elevated buskin which the actors wore. Thus Claudian, describing tragedy as distinguished from comedy, *De Mall. Theod. Conf.* v. 314.

— “*alte graditur majore cothurno:*”

And Ovid, *Amor.* L. ii. *El.* 18, speaking of himself as having written tragedy, but being seduced from so grave an employment by the charms of his mistress, adds,

“*Déque cothurnato rate triumphat amor.*”

Again, *Trist.* L. ii. *El.* i. 553, he refers to his *Medea* in similar terms; giving the epithet *gravis* to the *cothurnus*, or high tragick buskin. Milton, in his brief discourse on tragedy, prefixed to his *Samson Agonistes*, says, “Tragedy, as it was anciently composed, hath ever been held the *gravest*, *moralest*, and most profitable of all other poems, &c.” And Ovid had said, *Trist.* *El.* II. i. 381. “*Omne genus scripti gravitate Tragædia vincit.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 262. — *Chorus or Iambick,*] The two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy were the dialogue, written chiefly in the Iambick measure, and the chorus, which consisted of various measures. The character, here given by our author of the ancient tragedy, is very just and noble; and the English reader cannot form a better idea of it in its highest beauty and perfection, than by reading our author's *Samson Agonistes*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 263. — — — — — *with delight receiv'd*

*In brief sententious precepts,*] This description particularly applies to Euripides, who, next to Homer, was Milton's favourite Greek author. Euripides is described by Quintilian, “*sententiis densus, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pœne ipsis par.*” L. x. C. 1. And Aulus Gellius, (L. xi. C. 4.) citing some verses from the *Hecuba* of Euripides, terms them “*verbis sententia, brevitate insignes illustrisque.*” Aristotle, where he treats of sentences (*Rhetoric.* L. ii. C. 22.), takes al-

Of fate, and chance, and change in human life, 265  
High actions and high passions best describing :

most all his examples from Euripides. The abundance of moral precepts introduced by the Greek tragick poets in their pieces, and the delight with which they were received, are admirably accounted for by an eminent and excellent writer, Bp. Hurd, in his note on Horace's *Art of Poetry*, v. 219. Sylvester, in his *Du Bartas*, complimenting Daniel, edit. 1621, p. 82, calls him

————— “ sharp-conceited, brief,  
“ Civil, *sententious*, for pure accents chief :”

See Headly's Specimens of old Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. 190.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 265. *Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,*] The arguments most frequently selected by the Greek tragick writers, (and indeed by their epick poets also,) were the accomplishment of some oracle, or some supposed decree of *fate*. Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βούλη. *Iliad*, i. 5. But the incidents are intermediate circumstances which led to the destined event, according to their system, depended on fortune, or *chance*. *Fate* and *chance* then furnished the subject and incidents of their dramas; while the catastrophe produced the *peripetia*, or change of fortune. The history of *Œdipus*, one of their principal dramatick subjects, was here perhaps in our author's mind. The *fate* of *Œdipus* was foretold before his birth; the wonderful incidents, that, in spite of every guarded precaution, led to the accomplishment of it, depended apparently on *chance*; the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, produced by the discovery of the oracle being so completely fulfilled, is truly affecting. *Change in human life* might here perhaps not merely refer to the pathetick catastrophes of the Greek tragedy, as it sometimes formed the entire argument of their pieces; of which the *Œdipus Coloneus* is an instance. DUNSTER.

Ver. 266. *High actions and high passions best describing:*] *High actions* refer to *fate* and *chance*, the arguments and incidents of tragedy; high passions to the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, which included the πάθος, or affecting part. *High actions* are the παλαιά πράξεις of Aristotle, who, speaking of the tragick poets as distinguished from the writers of comedy, says, οἱ μὲν σεμνότεροι ΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΑΣ ἐμιμῶντο ΠΙΡΑΞΕΙΣ. *High actions and high passions*



Thence to the famous orators repair,  
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence  
 Wielled at will that fierce democratic,  
 Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece 270

might also be understood to mean the noble achievements or the affecting disasters and sufferings of great and elevated persons. This agrees with what Milton says in his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, where he condemns “the introducing trivial and vulgar persons in tragedy; which by all judicious hath been counted absurd.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 267. *Thence to the famous orators &c.*] How happily does Milton’s versification in this, and the following lines, concerning the Socratick philosophy, express what he is describing! In the first we feel, as it were, the nervous rapid eloquence of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates. THYER.

Ver. 268. *Those ancient,*] Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero, who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times to Demetrius Phalereus, and those of the subsequent ages. See Cicero, *De claris Oratoribus*. And, in the judgment of Quintilian, Demetrius Phalereus was the first who weakened eloquence, and the last almost of the Athenians who can be called an orator: “is primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator.” *De Institut. Orat.* x. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 268. ———— *whose resistless eloquence*  
*Wielled at will that fierce democratic,*  
*Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece]* Alluding, as Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin have both observed, to what Aristophanes has said of Pericles in his *Acharnenses*:

Ἦγράπτεν, ἰβρόντα, ξυνεύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

For the various authors who have referred, or alluded, to this description of *the resistless eloquence* of Pericles, see Kuster’s note on the passage, in his edition of Aristophanes; where however he has overlooked Quintilian, L. ii. C. 16. & L. xii. C. 10. Cicero, (*Epist. ad Attic.* xv. 1. and *Orator.* Sect. 234. Ed. Proust),

To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne :  
 To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,  
 From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house  
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,

speaks of the "*fulmina* Demosthenis." The younger Pliny thus describes the eloquence of his friend Pompeius Saturninus ; " Adfunt aptæ, crebræque sententiæ, gravis et decora constructio, sonantia verba et antiqua. Omnia hæc mire placent. Cum impetu quodam et *fulmine* prævehuntur : " And, in the xith *Æneid*, Virgil makes Turnus, in his speech to Drances, say

" Proinde *tona eloquio* ; solitum tibi."

Longinus, speaking of the superiour power of Demosthenes in oratory to the publick speakers of any age, expresses himself in a similar figure of speech ; sect. xxxiv. ΚΑΤΑΒΡΟΝΤΑ καὶ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΙΤΕΙ τὴς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας &c. τ. λ. DUNSTER.

The word *fulmin'd* is here adopted from Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* iii. ii. 5. See Mr. Upton's note on the passage. Sylvester ascribes to Cicero, not indeed in a very happy manner, what Milton ascribes to the Grecian orators. See *Du Bartas*, fol. ed. 1621, p. 263.

—————" whose *thundering eloquence*  
 " Yeelds thousand fireames, whence, rapt in admiration,  
 " The rarest wits are drunk in every nation ! " TODD.

Ver. 271. *To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne :*] As Pericles and others *fulmin'd over Greece to Artaxerxes' throne* against the Persian king, so Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who *fulmin'd over Greece to Macedon* against king Philip, in his Oration, therefore denominated Philippicks. NEWTON.

Ver. 273. *From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house Of Socrates ;*] Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 27.—" e cælo descendit γυνῶθι σιαυτὸν," as this famous Delphick precept was the foundation of Socrates's philosophy, and so much used by him, that it hath passed with some for his own. Or, as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author here probably alludes to what Cicero says of

Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd 275  
 Wifest of men ; from whose mouth issued forth  
 Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools

Socrates, "*Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e cælo, et in urbibus collacavit, et in domus etiam introduxit.*" *Tusc. Disp. V. 4.* But he has given a very different sense to the words either by design or mistake, as Mr. Warburton observes. It is properly called *the low-roof'd house* ; "for I believe," said Socrates, "that if I could meet with a good purchaser, I might easily get for my goods, and house and all, five pounds." See Xenophon, *Oeconomic*. Five minæ, or Attick pounds, were better than sixteen pounds of our money, a *mina*, according to Barnard, being three pounds eight shillings and nine-pence. NEWTON.

In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, (ver. 92.) where Strepsiades points out the habitation of Socrates to his son, he uses the diminutive *οικίδιον*, *adricula*, small house, or *tenement*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 275. *Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd*  
*Wifest of men ;*] The verse, delivered down to us upon this occasion, is this ;

Ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Of all men Socrates is the wifest. NEWTON.

Ver. 276. ———— *from whose mouth issued forth*  
*Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools*  
*Of Academicks &c.]* Thus Quintilian calls Socrates *font philosophorum*. L. i. C. 10. As the ancients looked upon Homer to be the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates the father of moral philosophy. Thus Cicero, (*Academic. L. i. C. 4.*) "Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse ; &c." and, speaking of the Academick and Peripatetick schools, he says, "*idem fons erat utriusque.*" The different sects of philosophers were indeed so many different families, which all acknowledged Socrates for their common parent. Cicero, speaking of him, (*Tusc. Disp. L. v. C. 4.*) says—"cujus multiplex ratio disputandi, rerumque varietas, et ingenii magnitudo, Platonis memoria et literis cou-

Of Academicks old and new, with those  
 Surnam'd Peripateticks, and the sect  
 Epicurean, and the Stoick severe ; 280  
 These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,  
 Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight ;  
 These rules will render thee a king complete

fecrata, plura genera effecit dissentientium philosophorum." And, (*De Orator. L. iii. C. 16.*) " Nam cum essent plures orti fere a Socrate, quod ex illius variis, et diversis, et in omnem partem diffusis disputationibus alius aliud apprehenderat ; profeminatae sunt quasi familiae dissentientes inter se, et multum disjunctae et dispaes cum tamen omnes se philosophi Socraticos et dici vellent, et esse arbitrantur." NEWTON.

But our author, in speaking here of *the mellifluous streams of philosophy that issued from the mouth of Socrates, and watered all the various schools or sects, of philosophers*, had in his mind a passage of Ælian, (*Var. Hist. L. xiii. C. 22.*) where it is said that " Galaton the painter drew Homer as a fountain, and the other poets drawing water from his mouth." Whence also Manilius, speaking of Homer, *L. ii. 8.*

—————" cuiusque ex ore profusus  
 " Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,  
 " Annemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos  
 " Unius facunda bonis."

And Ovid, *Amor. III. ix. 25* ;

" Adjice Mæonidem, a quo, ceu fonte perenni,  
 " Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis." DUNSTER.

Ver. 278. Of Academicks old and new,] The *Academick* sect of philosophers, like the Greek comedy, had its three epochs, *old, middle, and new*. Plato was the head of the old Academy, Arcefilas of the middle, and Carneades of the new. DUNSTER.

Ver. 283. These rules] There is no mention before of rules ; but of poets, orators, and philosophers. We should read therefore, " *Their rules &c.*" CALTON.

Within thyself, much more with empire join'd.

To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied. 285  
 Think not but that I know these things, or think  
 I know them not; not therefore am I short  
 Of knowing what I ought: he, who receives  
 Light from above, from the fountain of light,  
 No other doctrine needs, though granted true; 290  
 But these are false, or little else but dreams,  
 Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.

Ver. 285. *To whom &c.*] This answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contained in it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it: and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error, whether it was that he thought great truths best expressed in a grave, unaffected style, or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader, that simple naked truth will always be an over-match for falsehood, though recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colours. THYER.

Ver. 288. ————— *he, who receives*

*Light from above, from the fountain of light,*

*No other doctrine needs, though granted true;]* Peck,

from this passage, supposes Milton to have been a Quaker. Milton was a sectarist on general principles, which cannot easily be reduced to any particular or separate system. *The Paradise Regained*, indeed, is supposed to have been written at the suggestion of Thomas Ellwood, a Quaker, Milton's neighbour at Chalfont; and if ever a Quaker indulges himself in the vanities of English poetry, the *Paradise Regained* is his favourite classic.

T. WARTON.

The Quakers, it may be observed, admit that the Scriptures are true, but conceive that the necessity of them is superseded by intellectual communications; to which tenet the last of these lines seems to point. DUNSTER.

The first and wisest of them all profess'd  
 To know this only, that he nothing knew ;  
 The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits ; 295  
 A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense ;

Ver. 293. *The first and wisest of them all profess'd*

*To know this only, that he nothing knew ;*] Socrates ; of whom Cicero, “ Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipse, refellat alios : nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum : eoque præstare ceteris, quod illi quæ nesciant scire se putent ; ipse, se nihil scire, id unum sciat.” Cicero *Academic.* i. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 295. *The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits ;*] Milton, in his Latin Poem, *De Idea, Platonica*, terms Plato, “*fabulator maximus*,” v. 38. This passage shows our Poet inclined to censure the fictions of the philosopher ; which were also noticed in early times. Diogenes Laertius cites a verse of Timon, to this purpose,

Ὡς ἀνέπλασε Πλάτων πεπλασμένα δαύματα εἰδώς.

What wonderous fictions learned Plato fram'd !

Mr. Calton cites a passage from *Parker's Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophy*, Oxford, 1667 ; where it is observed that “ Plato and his followers, communicated their notions by emblems, fables, symbols, parables, heaps of metaphors, and all sorts of mystical representations.” “ These,” it is afterwards added, “ though they are pretty poetick fancies, are infinitely unfit to express philosophical notions and discoveries of the nature of things.” *Smooth conceits* are the Italian *conceitti* ; by which term an Italian writer would, I apprehend, characterise any far-fetched or fine-spun allegories. DUNSTER.

Ver. 296. *A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense ;*] These were the Scepticks or Pyrrhonians, the disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted nothing to be either honest or dishonest, just or unjust ; that men do all things by law and custom ; and that in every thing *this* is not preferable to *that*. This was called the Sceptick philosophy from its continual inspection, and never

Others in virtue plac'd felicity,  
 But virtue join'd with riches and long life;  
 In corporal pleasure he, and carelefs ease;  
 The Stoick last in philosophick pride, 300

finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. See Stanley's *Life of Pyrrho*, who takes this account from Diogenes Laertius.

NEWTON.

Ver. 297. *Others in virtuc plac'd felicity,*  
*But virtue join'd with riches and long life ;]* These  
 were the old Academicks, and the Peripateticks the scholars of  
 Aristotle. See Cicero, *Academic.* ii. 42, and *De Fin.* ii. 11.

NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *In corporal pleasure he, and carelefs ease ;]* The *He*  
 is here contemptuously emphatical. Thus Demosthenes, in the  
 opening of his first Philippick, referring to Philip, whom he had  
 not mentioned by name, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὄψει ΤΟΥΤΟΥ, δι' ἣν παραίτουμεθα.  
 And, in the *Paradise Lost*, Satan, in his first speech, when on  
 the burning lake, he “ breaks the horrid silence,” speaks of the  
 Deity, in a manner not dissimilar, by the title of “ *He* with  
 his thunder.”

Dr. Newton illustrates the sentiments here attributed to Epicurus by a passage from Cicero, who says of him; “ Confirmat illud vel maxime, quod ipsa natura, ut ait ille, asciscat, ~~et~~ reprobet, id est voluptatem et dolorem; ad hæc, et quæ sequamur, et quæ fugiamus, refert omnia ” *De Fin.* i. 7. But Epicurus may speak for himself. In his Epistle to Menæceus, preserved by Diogenes Laertius, he points out as the only essential and truly interesting objects of a wise man's attention, τὴν τῷ σώματος ὑγίειαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν, “ health of body, and an undisturbed state of mind, &c.” Lucian, speaking of the same philosopher, has a passage strikingly similar: Ἀμίλει ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν παρήγει τὸ πᾶν ἡδισθαί, καὶ μόνον τῷτο ἐκ παντὸς μετέλπει. *Necyomant.* p. 460. ed. Reitz. Where also, see the account of the Stoicks and Peripateticks, and compare with Milton's account of them here. DUNSTER.

Ver. 300. *The Stoick last &c.]* The reason why Milton represents our Saviour taking such particular notice of the Stoicks

By him call'd virtue ; and his virtuous man,  
Wife, perfect in himself, and all possessing

above the rest, was probably because they made pretensions to a more refined and exalted virtue than any of the other sects, and were at that time the most prevailing party among the philosophers, and the most revered and esteemed for the strictness of their morals, and the austerity of their lives. The picture of their *virtuous man* is perfectly just, as might easily be shown from many passages in Seneca and Antoninus ; and the defects and insufficiency of their scheme could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are by our author in the lines following.

THYER.

✓ Nine lines are here employed in exposing the errors of the Stoick philosophy, while the other sects have scarcely more than a single line bestowed upon each of them. This is done with great judgement. ✓ The reveries of Plato, the superlative scepticism of Pyrrho, the sensuality of Epicurus, and the selfish meanness of the old Academicks and Peripateticks, might well be supposed to carry sufficient confutation along with them. But the tenets of the Stoicks, which had a great mixture of truth with error, and inculcated, among other things, the moral duties, a great degree of self-denial, and the imitation of the Deity, as fixed principles, were worthy of a more particular examination ; and required to have their speciousness and insufficiency in other respects more particularly marked and laid open. Add to this the esteem in which the Stoicks were held not only among the philosophers of antiquity, but among some of the early writers on Christianity. Cicero, though no Stoick, says of them, “ Licet insectemur istos (Stoicos), metuo ne soli philosophi sint.” *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 24. Clemens Alexandrinus in many parts of his works professes himself a Stoick. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah, acknowledges that the Stoicks in most points of doctrine agree with the Christians, “ Stoici cum nostro dogmate in plerisque concordant.” C. 10. To bring forward, therefore, and to censure in this place the exceptionable doctrines of this sect, was highly becoming the character under which our blessed Lord is here represented and described. DUNSTER.



Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,  
 As fearing God nor man, contemning all 304  
 Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,  
 Which, when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,  
 For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,  
 Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.  
 Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,  
 Ignorant of themselves, of God much more, 310

Ver. 303. *Equal to God,*] Dr. Newton here reads "*Equals* to God, &c." and conceives the sense to be so much improved, that the omission of the letter's must have been an error of the press. I retain the reading in Milton's own edition, as the sense appears sufficiently clear with it, neither do I see any material improvement resulting from the correction. It seems to me also probable that "all possessing equal to God," was suggested by a passage of Seneca, who is likewise describing the virtuous man of the Stoicks, "*Deorum ritu cuncta possideat.*" *Epist. xcii.*

DUNSTER.

Ver. 307. *For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,*  
*Or subtle shifts*] *Vain boasts* relate to the Stoical paradoxes; and *subtle shifts* to their dialectick, which this sect so much cultivated, that they were known equally by the name of *Dialecticians* and *Stoicks*. WARBURTON.

Ver. 308. — *subtle shifts conviction to evade.*] "*Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam sit subtile, vel spinosum potius, differendi genus.*" Cicero, *De Fin. iii. 1.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,*  
*And how the world began, and how man fell.*  
*Degraded by himself, on grace depending?*] Having drawn most accurately the character of the Stoick philosopher, and exposed the insufficiency of his pretensions to superiour virtue as built on superiour knowledge, the poet may be understood here as referring to the Holy Scriptures, as the only true source of information respecting the Nature of God, the Creation, the Fall of Man, &c. They who have never benefited by divine

And how the world began, and how man fell  
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?  
 Much of the foul they talk, but all awry,  
 And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves  
 All glory arrogate, to God give none; 315  
 Rather accuse him under usual names,  
 Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite

revelation, he intimates, must bewilder themselves in such researches, and cannot but fall into the greatest absurdities, as was the case of the Stoicks and other philosophers. DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *Much of the foul they talk, but all awry,*] See what Dr. Warburton has said of the absurd notions of the ancient philosophers, concerning the nature of the soul, in his *Divine Legation*, Book iii. Sect. 4. NEWTON.

Compare Milton's *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, ch. iii. "Thus were the common sort of Gentiles wont to think, without any *wry* thoughts cast upon divine governance." TODD.

Ver. 314. *And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves All glory arrogate, to God, give none;*] Cicero speaks the sentiments of ancient philosophy upon this point, in the following words: "propter virtutem enim jure laudamur, et in virtute recte gloriamur: quod non contingeret, si id donum a Deo, non a nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cum Diis gratias agimus tum nihil nostræ laudi assumptum arbitramur. Num quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias Diis egit unquam? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis. Ad rem autem ut redeam, *judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a Deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.*" De Nat. Deor. iii. 36. WARBURTON.

Ver. 316. *Rather accuse him under usual names, Fortune and Fate,*] Thus in the speech which Jupiter addresses to the assembly of the gods in the beginning of the *Odyssey*.

Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these  
True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,  
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets, 320  
An empty cloud. However, many books,

Ω πόποι οἶον δὴ νῦ θεὸς βροτοὶ αἰτίωνται.

Ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κάκ' ἔμμεναι, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ

Σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μέρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.

Several of the ancient philosophers, but especially the Stoicks, thus characterise the Deity. “Sic hunc naturam vocas, *fatum*, *fortunam*; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua potestate.” *De Beneficiis*. iv. 8. “Vis illum *fatum* vocare? non errabis.” *Nat. Quæst.* ii. 45. The Stoick poet, Lucan, frequently terms the Deity, *Fate* or *Fortune*; See *Pharsal.* i. 87, and iii. 97. DUNSTER.

Ver. 321. *An empty cloud.*] A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who embraced an *empty cloud* for a Juno.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *many books*,

*Wise men have said, are wearisome;*] Alluding to *Eccles.* xii. 12. “Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh.” NEWTON.

The same sentiment may be traced to classical authority. “Aiunt enim,” says the younger Pliny, “*multum legendum esse, non multa.*” L. viii, *Epist.* 9. It is indeed a Stoical precept, and as such Milton might refer to it in the words, *Wise men have said*. Τὴν δὲ βιβλιῶν δίψαι ῥῖπον. Antonin. *Meditat.* “Do not indulge yourself in a thirst after books.” “Illud autem vide ne ista *lectio multorum auctorum*, et omnis generis voluminum, habeat aliquid vagum et instabile. Distrahit animum *librorum multitudo.*” Senec. *Epist.* ii. “Quo mihi innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas, quarum dominus vix tota vita sua indices perlegit? *Onerat discentem turba*, non instruit; multoque satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere, quam *errare per multos.*” Senec. *De Tranquillitat. Animi.* C. 9. DUNSTER.

Wise men have said, are wearisome ; who reads  
 Incessantly, and to his reading brings not  
 A spirit and judgement equal or superiour,  
 (And what he brings what needs he elsewhere  
     seek ?)

325

Uncertain and unsettled still remains,  
 Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself,  
 Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys  
 And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge ;  
 As children gathering pebbles on the shore. 330

Ver. 322. ————— *who reads*  
*Incessantly, &c.]* See the same just sentiment in  
*Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 126.

——“ Knowledge is as food, and needs no less  
 “ Her temperance over appetite, &c.” *THYER.*

Ver. 327. *Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself,]* Mil-  
 ton would, I conceive, thus have characterised his old anta-  
 gonist, Salmasius. *DUNSTER.*

Ver. 329. ————— *worth a sponge ;]* Milton most  
 probably alluded to the *sponge* as used by the ancients for the  
 purpose of blotting out any thing they had written, and did not  
 choose to preserve. Thus we read in Suetonius's Life of Au-  
 gustus, when that emperor had attempted a tragedy on the  
 subject of Ajax, he answered “ *Ajacem suum in spongiam incu-*  
*buisse.*” So that *worth a sponge* literally means not worth seeing  
 the light, not worth preserving. *DUNSTER.*

Milton explains himself in his *Areopagitica*, in a passage of  
 remarkable humour, on the subject of Papal Imprimaturs :  
 “ Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise  
 in the piazza of one title-page, complementing and ducking to  
 each other with their shaven reverences, whether *the author*,  
 who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to  
 the press, or to *the sponge.*” *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 417. ed.  
 1698. *TODD.*

Or, if I would delight my private hours  
 With musick or with poem, where, so soon  
 As in our native language, can I find  
 That solace? All our law and story strew'd  
 With hymns, our psalms with artful terms in-  
 scrib'd, 335

Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon  
 That pleas'd so well our victors' ear, declare  
 That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;  
 Ill imitated, while they loudest sing  
 The vices of their Deities, and their own, 340  
 In fable, hymn, or song, so personating

Ver. 335. ———— *our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,*] He means the inscriptions prefixed to the beginning of several psalms, such as *To the chief musician upon Nehiloth*, &c. to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments. NEWTON.

Ver. 336. *Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon  
 That pleas'd so well our victors' ear,*] This is said upon the authority of *Psal. cxxxvii. 1*, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 338. *That rather Greece from us &c.*] This was the system in vogue at that time. It was established and supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length, by Huetius and Gale. WARBURTON.

Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes the invention of hymns and songs to the Jews; and says that the Greeks stole theirs from them. *Stromat. L. i. p. 308.* Ed. Colon. 1688. He also charges the Grecian philosophers with stealing many of their doctrines from the Jewish prophets. *L. i. p. 312.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 339. *Ill imitated,*] Because the subject of the Hebrew Songs was God Himself; the subject of the Grecian, the gross and ridiculous deities of their own invention. TODD.

Ver. 341. ———— *personating*] This is in the Latin sense of *persono*, to celebrate loudly. DUNSTER.

Their Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.  
 Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid  
 As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,  
 Thin sown with aught of profit or delight, 345

Ver. 343. ——— swelling *epithets*,] Greek compounds, as doctor Warburton observes. Mr. Thyer adds, that the hymns of the Greek poets consist of very little more than repeated invocations of them by different names and epithets. Jupiter, as Mr. Dunster remarks, is the *cloud-compeller*, or the *ægis bearer*; Apollo, the *far-darter*, &c. Dr. Jos. Warton considers Milton's allusion as pointing solely at the rich and florid compound epithets so frequent in the Hymns of Callimachus. Possibly the epithet *swelling* might have been suggested by a passage in *Jude*, ver. 16, which is applied to false teachers: "Their mouth speaketh great *swelling* words, having mens persons in admiration because of advantage." TODD.

Ibid. ——— *thick laid*

*As varnish on a harlot's cheek*,] The Duke of Buckingham, very possibly, had this passage of Milton in his mind, when he wrote the following lines of his *Essay on Poetry*;

" Figures of speech, which poets think so fine,  
 " (Art's needless *varnish* to make nature shine,)  
 " Are all but *paint upon a beauteous face*,  
 " And in descriptions only claim a place :"

as Milton, most probably, had the following lines of Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. 1.

" The *harlot's cheek*, beautied with *plastering art*,  
 " Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,  
 " Than is my deed, &c." DUNSTER.

Prynne censures " the recitall, acting, and *personating* of the names, the histories, and notorious villanies" of the *heathen deities*, in a similar figure: " The reviuall of their names and memories, the *varnishing* of them with *fresh and liuely colours* in our Stage-Playes, must needes bee euill, &c." *Histrio Mastix*, 1633, part i. p. 80. TODD.

Will far be found unworthy to compare  
 With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,  
 Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,

Ver. 346. *Will far be found unworthy to compare*

*With Sion's songs,]* He was of this opinion not only in the decline of life, but likewise in his earlier days, as appears from the preface to his second Book of the *Reason of Church Government*. "Or if occasion shall lead to imitate those magnifick odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear, over all the kinds of lyrick poesy, to be incomparable." NEWTON.

But Milton now appears to have imbibed so strong a tincture of fanaticism, as to decry all human compositions and profane subjects. In the context he speaks with absolute contempt, even in a critical view, and a general disapprobation of the Greek odes or hymns. Read ver. 343 to ver. 348. Undoubtedly these were Milton's own sentiments, though delivered in an assumed character. Even in his own person, he had long before given the substance of the context, as cited by doctor Newton. It must however be observed, that Christ is here answering Satan's speech, and counteracting his exquisite panegyrick on the philosophers, poets, and orators of Athens. Yet at the same time I can conceive that Satan's speech, which here he means to confute, and which no man was more able to write than himself, came from the heart. "The writers of dialogue in feigned characters have great advantage. T. WARTON.

Ver. 348. *Where God is prais'd aright, &c.]* Such is part of the conclusion, which he deduces from his consideration of poetical subjects "of highest hope and hardest attempting," *Reason of Ch. Gov.* Pref. B. ii. "These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great

The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints,  
 (Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,)  
 Unless where moral virtue is express'd 351  
 By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.

people the seeds of virtue and publick civility, &c. to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of *God's almightiness, and what he works, &c.* to sing victorious agonies of *martyrs and saints, &c.*" TORD.

Ver. 350. (*Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,*)  
*Unless where moral virtue is express'd*

*By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.*] Thus the passage stands pointed in Dr. Newton's edition; where Mr. Meadowcourt observes that the sense of these lines is highly obscure, and explains them to mean, "Poets from thee inspired are not such as these, unless where moral virtue is expressed &c." But this is very far from satisfactory. Indeed the obscurity, if not caused, is increased by departing from the punctuation of the first edition, which had a semicolon after *not such from thee*. *Unless* certainly has no reference to the immediately preceding line; which I have therefore put in a parenthesis, supposing the exception to refer to ver. 346:

"Will far be found unworthy to compare

"With Sion's songs, &c.

"Unless where moral virtue is express'd

"By light of Nature, not in all quite lost."

I will venture however to suggest a new arrangement of the passage:

---

"the rest

"Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,

"(Unless where moral virtue is express'd

"By light of Nature not in all quite lost),

"Will far be found unworthy to compare

"With Sion's songs to all true tastes excelling,

"Where God is prais'd alike and God-like men,

"The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints:

"Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee."

DUNSTER.



Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those  
 The top of eloquence ; statists indeed,  
 And lovers of their country, as may seem ; 355  
 But herein to our prophets far beneath,  
 As men divinely taught, and better teaching  
 The solid rules of civil government,  
 In their majestick unaffected style,  
 Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome. 360  
 In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,

I have followed Mr. Dunster's punctuation of this passage; conceiving it accords with the intention of the poet, in whose edition a semi-colon is placed at the end of ver. 349, as well as of ver. 350. But Mr. Dunster's new arrangement is much more perspicuous. TODD.

Ver. 353. \_\_\_\_\_ as those .

The top of eloquence ;] I should prefer " as though the top of eloquence." CALTON.

*Those* is more in Milton's manner: *Those the top of eloquence*, being a phrase of the same import, as *Scipio the eighth of Rome*, Par. Lost, B. ix. 510. Compare also Shakspeare, *Meas. for Meas.* A. ii. S. ii.

\_\_\_\_\_ " How would you be,  
 " If He, which is the top of judgement, should  
 " But judge you, as you are !" TODD.

Ver. 354. \_\_\_\_\_ statists] Or statesmen. A word, as doctor Newton observes, in more frequent use formerly ; as in Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. v.

\_\_\_\_\_ " I do believe,  
 " (*Statist* though I am none, nor like to be.)"

And, as Mr. Dunster adds, Milton uses it in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 424. ed. 1698. He uses it also, in the same sense, in his *Prose-W.* vol. i. ed. sup. p. 141, and p. 302. TODD.

What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,  
 What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;  
 These only with our law best form a king.

So spake the Son of God; but Satan, now 365  
 Quite at a loss, (for all his darts were spent,)  
 Thus to our Saviour with stern brow replied.

Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,  
 Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor aught  
 By me propos'd in life contemplative 370  
 Or active, tended on by glory or fame,  
 What dost thou in this world? The wilderness  
 For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,  
 And thither will return thee; yet remember

Ver. 362. ——— makes *a nation happy, and keeps it so,*] Horace, *Epist.* l. vi. 2.

————— “*facere aut servare beatum.*”

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 366. ——— (*for all his darts were spent,*)] Possibly with a reference to “the fiery darts of the wicked,” Ephes. vi. 16. But archery furnished metaphors frequently to the Latin and Greek writers. Thus Horace, reproving the unbounded aims and designs of men, *Od.* II. xvi.

“*Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo*

“*Multa?*”

And Æschylus, speaking of “the tongue that launches forth much improper language,” *Supplic.* v. 455.

————— γλῶσσα ΤΟΞΕΥΟΥΣΑ μὴ τὰ καίρια.

And in the same manner Euripides, *Heccub.* 603.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ΕΤΟΞΕΥΣΕΝ μάτην. DUNSTER.

The allusion may be to Holy Writ, in which the words of *wicked men* are expressly termed *arrows*: “Who whet their tongue like a sword, and shoot out their arrows, even bitter words,” Psalm lxiv. 3. TODD.

What I foretel thee, soon thou shalt have cause  
 To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus 376  
 Nicely or cautiously, my offer'd aid,  
 Which would have set thee in short time with ease  
 On David's throne, or throne of all the world,  
 Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season, 380  
 When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.  
 Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,  
 Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars  
 Voluminous, or single characters,  
 In their conjunction met, give me to spell, 385  
 Sorrows, and labours, opposition, hate  
 Attend thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,  
 Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death;  
 A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,  
 Real or allegorick, I discern not; 390

Ver. 377. *Nicely or cautiously,*] Thus ver. 157 of this Book,  
 “ Nothing will please the difficult and *nice*.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 380. ————— *fulness of time, thy season,*] *Galat.*  
 iv. 4. “ When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth  
 his Son.” NEWTON.

Ver. 382. ————— *if I read aught in Heaven,*] A  
 satire on Cardon, who with the boldness and impiety of an  
 atheist and a madman, both of which he was, cast the nativity  
 of Jesus Christ, and found by the great and illustrious concourse  
 of stars at his birth, that he must needs have the fortune which  
 beset him, and become the author of a religion, which should  
 spread itself far and near for many ages. The great Milton,  
 with a just indignation of this impiety, hath satirized it in a  
 very beautiful manner, by putting these reveries into the mouth  
 of the Devil. NEWTON.

Nor when ; eternal sure, as without end,  
Without beginning ; for no date prefix'd  
Directs me in the starry rubrick set.

So saying he took, (for still he knew his power  
Not yet expir'd,) and to the wilderiness 395  
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,  
Feigning to disappear. Darknefs now rose,  
As day-light funk, and brought in lowering  
Night,  
Her shadowy offspring ; unsubstantial both,

Ver. 391. ————— as without end

*Without beginning ;*] “ The poet,” says Dr. Newton, “ did not think it enough to discredit *judicial astrology* by making it patronised by the Devil ; to show at the same time the absurdity of it, he makes the Devil also blunder in the expression of portending *a kingdom which was without beginning*. This,” he adds, “ destroys all he would insinuate.” But the poet certainly never meant to make the Tempter a blunderer. The fact is, the language is here intended to be highly farcassick on the eternity of Christ’s kingdom, respecting which the Tempter says he believes it will have one of the properties of eternity, *that of never beginning*. This is that *species of insulting wit*, which the Devils, in the sixth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, indulge themselves in on the first effects of the artillery they had invented ; where Mr. Thyer, as cited by Dr. Newton, observes that Milton is not to be blamed for introducing it, “ when we consider the character of the speakers, and that such kind of insulting wit is most peculiar to proud, contemptuous spirits.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 399. *Her shadowy offspring ;*] *Night* was sometimes the parent, and *Darknefs* the *offspring*. See Cicero *De Nat. Deorum*, where we meet with *Tenebræ* among the progeny of *Night* and *Erebus*. But Milton’s *Theogony* is conformable to Hyginus, who makes *Caligo*, or *Darknefs*, the mother of *Night*, *Day*, *Erebus*, and *Ether*. See the first chapter of Hyginus *De Fabulis*. DUNSTER.

Privation mere of light and absent day. 400  
 Our Saviour meek, and with untroubled mind  
 After his aery jaunt, though hurried fore,  
 Hungry and cold, betook him to his rest,  
 Wherever, under some concourse of shades,  
 Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might  
 shield 405

From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head;  
 But, shelter'd, slept in vain; for at his head  
 The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams  
 Disturb'd his sleep. And either tropick now

Ver. 399. ————— *unsubstantial both,*] His philosophy is here ill placed. It dashes out the image he had just been painting. WARBURTON.

Euripides, in a chorus of his Orestes, personifying Night, calls upon her to arise from Erebus, or the shades below,

Πόνια, πόνια Νύξ,  
 Ἐρεβόθεν ἔθι, —————

where, it may be observed, the scholiast rectifies the philosophy of the poet, by explaining night or darkness as really “unsubstantial,” and *merely produced by the absence of light, or day.*—  
 Κατερχομένη τῇ ἡλίῳ εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον, σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς γίνεται, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν ἀνέσαι δοκῶν, οὐκ ὡς ὃν ἐν τοῖς κάτω καὶ ἀνερχόμενον. ἈΛΛΑ ΤΗ ἈΠΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ὙΦΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 402. ————— *though hurried fore,*] *Hurried* is here applied to preternatural motion, as in the *Ode on the Passion*, st. viii. “*Hurried on viewless wing:*” where see Mr. Warton’s note. TODD.

Ver. 408. ————— *and soon with ugly dreams*  
*Disturb’d his sleep.*] In the *Paradise Lost*, the Tempter begins his Temptation of Eve by working on her imagination in dreams, B. iv. 800, &c. Here it may be observed the Tempter tries only “to disturb our Lord *with ugly dreams*,” and not to excite in him, as he did in Eve, “vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires.” DUNSTER.

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the  
clouds,

410

Compare the quotation from Bragge's *Sermons*, in the note on ver. 430 of this Book. TODD.

Ver. 409. ————— *And either tropick now*

*'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds,  
From many a horrid rift, &c.]* It thundered from

both tropicks, that is perhaps from the right and from the left. The ancients had very different opinions concerning the right and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion, that the east is the right side, and the west the left; but that Empedocles held that the right side is towards the summer tropick, and the left towards the winter tropick. Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, Αριστοτέλης, δεξιά τῷ κόσμῳ τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως ἀριστερά δὲ τὰ δυτικά. Εμπεδοκλῆς δεξιά μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν ἀριστερά δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν χειμερινόν. *De Placit. Philos.* ii. 10. Αἰγύπτιοι οἰοῦνται τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸ κόσμῳ πρόσωπον εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν δεξιά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀριστερά. *Id. de Isid.* p. 363. If by *either tropick* he meant the *right side* and the *left*, by *both ends of Heaven* may be understood *before* and *behind*. I know it may be objected, that the tropicks cannot be the one the right side, and the other the left, *to those* who are placed without the tropicks; but I do not think that objection to be very material. I have another exposition to offer, which is thus: It thundered all along the Heaven, from the north pole to the tropick of Cancer, from thence to the tropick of Capricorn, from thence to the south pole: from pole to pole. The *ends of Heaven* are the poles. This is a poetical tempest, like that in Virgil, *Æn.* i. "Intonuere poli,"—"Id est, *extremæ partes cæli—a quibus totum cælum contonuisse significat.*" Servius. JORTIN.

By *either tropick now 'gan thunder* Dr. Newton understands, it thundered from the north and from the south; but he observes that the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour not being within the tropicks. By *and both ends of Heaven*, he understands *from* or *at both ends of Heaven*, the preposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton. He therefore reads the passage thus:

From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd

---

“ either tropick now  
 “ 'Gan thunder, and, both ends of Heaven, the clouds  
 “ From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd &c.”

I agree that by *either tropick* Milton most probably meant that it thundered from the north and south; but I conceive that by *both ends of Heaven* he means east and west, the points where the sun rises and sets; as his purpose is to describe a general storm, not coming from any particular quarter, nor only from north and south, but from every point of the horizon at once. This storm, as Dr. Newton has suggested, is very much like one in Tasso, which was raised in the same manner by evil spirits, *Gier. Lib. c. vii. ft. 114, 115.* DUNSTER.

This passage of the poet is indeed conducted, like the proffered entertainment in the second Book, on the principles of romance: Thus also, in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, bl. l. 1554, where the knight discomfits the enchantment, he is attacked by a spirit

---

“ whiche suche smoke did cast  
 “ That all the yland was full tenebrous;  
 “ It thundred loud with claps tempestious, &c.”

But, on victory declaring for the knight,

“ The spirite vanished, the ayre waxed cleare.”

Compare verses 429, 430, of this Book. TODD.

Ver. 410. ————— the clouds,

*From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd*

*Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, &c.]* This storm

of Milton will lose nothing by a comparison with the celebrated ones of Homer in his fifth *Odyssæy*, and of Virgil in his first *Æneid*. It is painted from nature, and in the boldest style.—The night is a *lowering one*, with a heavy overcharged atmosphere. The storm commences with thunder from every part of the Heavens. The rain then pours down in sudden precipitated torrents, finely marked, by the epithet *abortive* as materially different from the gradual progression of the most violent common showers; and the lightnings seem to burst in a tremendous manner from *horrid rifts*, from the most internal recesses of the sky. To make the horror complete, the winds, as is often the

Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with fire  
In ruin reconcil'd : nor slept the winds

case in those countries where thunder storms are most violent, join their force to that of the other two elements. Violent winds do not often attend violent thunder storms in this country ; and therefore Mr. Thyer has thought it necessary to observe that the accounts we have of hurricanes in the West Indies agree pretty much to this description. But such storms are not confined to tropical situations, or even to countries approaching towards them. DUNSTER.

Ver. 411. *From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd*

*Fierce rain with lightning mix'd,]* So, as Mr.

Dunster notes, Virg. *Æn.* iii. 196.

“ Involvere diem nimbi, et nox humida cœlum

“ Abstulit : ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.”

But Lucretius is here the original ; see lib. ii. 213, 215. At the same time, the “ *ripen cloudes* and molten firmament” of Spenser must not be forgotten, *Faer. Qu.* i. viii. 9. TODD.

Ver. 412. ————— *water with fire*

*In ruin reconcil'd :]* Dr. Warburton understands

this, *joined together to do hurt.* Mr. Thyer says it is a bold figure borrowed from Æschylus's description of the storm that scattered the Grecian fleet, *Agamem.* v. 559.

Ζυνώμοσαν γὰρ, ὅρται ἔχθιστοι το πρὶν,

Πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, κ. τ. λ.

But I apprehend Dr. Newton sees the passage in its true light, when he says it only means *the fire and water fell*, (i. e. *rush'd down*), *together*, according to Milton's usage of the word *ruin*, *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 46, and *ruining*, B. vi. 868. Thus also, ver. 436. of this Book : “ After a night of storm so ruinous.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 413. ————— *nor slept the winds*

*Within their stony caves,]* Virgil describes the winds as placed by Jupiter in certain deep dark caves of the earth, under the controul of their god Æolus, *Æn.* i. 521.

————— “ Hic vasto rex Æolus antro

“ Lucentes ventos tempestatésque sonoras

“ Imperio premit, &c.”



Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad  
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell 415  
 On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines,  
 Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks,  
 Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,  
 Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,  
 O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st 420  
 Unshaken! Nor yet staid the terrour there;

Lucan also speaks of the "stony prison" of the winds, lib. v. 609. And see Lucretius, lib. vi. DUNSTER.

Ver. 414. ————— but rush'd abroad

*From the four hinges of the world,]* That is, from the four cardinal points; *cardo* signifying both a *hinge* and a *cardinal point*, Virgil, *Æn.* i. 85.

"Una Eurûsque Notûsque ruunt, crebêrque procellis

"Africus." NEWTON.

Ver. 416. *On the vex'd wilderness,]* Mr. Dunster observes that Milton frequently uses *vex* in its Latin sense, as describing the effects of a storm; *Par. Lost*, B. i. 306, and B. iii. 429. *Vex'd*, I apprehend, might not be uncommon, in this sense, in Milton's time. Thus, in Shakspeare's *Tempest*, A. i. S. ii. "The still-*vex'd* Bermoothes." Again, *K. Lear*, A. iv. S. iv. "As mad as the *vex'd* sea." TODD.

Ver. 417. *Though rooted deep as high, &c.]* Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 445.

—————"Quantum vertice ad auras

"Æthereas, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit."

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 418. ————— loaden with stormy blasts,] This has some resemblance to Horace's "*aquilonibus quercetæ Gargani laborant,*" *Od.* II. ix. DUNSTER.

Ver. 420. ————— yet only stood'st

*Unshaken!]* Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he found in Eusebius *de Dem. Evan.* (Lib. ix. vol. ii. p. 434. Ed. Col.) The learned father observes, that

Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round  
 Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some  
 shriek'd,

Christ was tempted forty days, and the same number of nights.  
 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ταῖς τοσαύταις νύξιν ἐπειράζετο.  
 And to these night-temptations he applies what is said in the  
*Psalms* xci. 5. and 6. Οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινῶ, *Thou shalt*  
*not be afraid for any terror by night,*—ἀπὸ πράγματ<sup>ος</sup> ἐν σκότει  
 διαπορευομένου, *nor for the danger that walketh in darkness.* The  
 first is thus paraphrased in the Targum, (though with a meaning  
 very different from Eusebius's) “Non timebis à timore Dæmo-  
 num qui ambulant in nocte.” The fiends surround our Redeemer  
 with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect.

CALTON.

Ver. 422. *Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round*

*Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, &c.]* This  
 too is from Eusebius, *ibid.* p. 435. Ἐπείπερ ἐν τῷ πειράζειν δυνάμεις  
 πονηραὶ ἐκυκλῶν αὐτόν. — “quoniam dum tentabatur, malignæ  
 potestates illum circumstabant.” And their repulse, it seems, is  
 also predicted in the 7th verse of the xcist Psalm: *A thousand*  
*shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall*  
*not come nigh thee.* CALTON.

Dr. Warburton and Dr. Jortin both observe that this descrip-  
 tion is taken from the legend, or the pictures, of the *Temptation*  
*of St. Anthony.* Tasso has a description somewhat similar, where  
 Armida, having lost Rinaldo, and returning to destroy her palace,  
 assembles her attendant spirits in a storm, c. xvi. st. 67.

“Quanto gira il palagio, udresti irati

“Sibili, e urli, e fremiti, e latrati.”

We may also compare a passage in Shakspeare, which con-  
 cludes Clarence's relation of his horrid dream in the Tower just  
 before he is murdered, *Rich. III.* A. i. S. v.

“With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends

“Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears

“Such hideous cries, that with the very noise

“I trembling wak'd; &c.” DUNSTER.

Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou  
 Sat'st unappall'd in calm and sinless peace ! 425  
 Thus passed the night so foul, till Morning fair  
 Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray ;

A passage from Fairfax's translation of *Tasso* appears to have been also in the poet's memory, B. ix. ft. 15.

- " Their mantle darke the *grisly* shadowes spred—  
 " The moone and stars for feare of sprites were fled ;  
 " The *shrieking* goblins each where *howling* flew :  
 " The *furies* roare, the ghosts and fairies yell,  
 " The earth was filled with devils, and emptie hell."

Mr. Warton, in his manuscript remarks, is of opinion that Milton copied this translation, B. xvi. 67.

- " You might have heard how through the palace wide  
 " Some spirits howl'd, some bark'd, some hiss, some cride."

However, it cannot but be admitted, that the circumstances and behaviour of Christ are similar to those of the Christian champions in *Tasso's* enchanted forest, who calmly, and without resistance, view the threats and attacks of a surrounding group of the most horrid demons. See B. xiii. ft. 28, 33, 35.

TODD.

Ver. 426. ————— till Morning fair

Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray ;] See the notes on *Lycidas*, ver. 187, *Comus*, ver. 188, and *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 374. TODD.

Ver. 427. ————— amice gray ;] *Amice*, doctor Newton observes, a significant word, is derived from the Latin *amicio*, to clothe. But this does not hit the full meaning of Milton's imagery. The combination, *amice gray*, is from what is called *gravius amictus*, an officiating garment in the Roman ritual, not occurring in Dufresne. In the Statutes of Trinity College, Oxford, given in 1556, it is ordered that, on holidays, in the chapel the President shall be vested "*gravius amictu*." In those of Magdalene College, Oxford, given in 1459, the President, on like solemnities, is to appear "*indutus gravior amissio*." Cap. xxxix. Skelton introduces all the birds singing

Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar  
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,

the obsequies of his *Philip Sparrow*; and, availing himself of the *gray* colour of the falcon, supposes that she performed her part of the mass in the "*amisse of gray*," Boke of Ph. Sparrow, p. 231. edit. Lond. 1736. In a controversy about church-habits, our author applies *amice* in a much less poetical sense: "We have heard of Aaron and his linen *amice*, &c." Pr. W. i. 100. ed. 1698. *Amice* occurs simply for a priest's service-habit in Spenfer, *Faer. Qu. i. iv. 18.* T. WARTON.

The *amice gray* appears not to have been confined to ecclesiastics. In an ancient black-letter book, entitled "Order of my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs, for their meeting and wearing their apparel throughout the whole year," is the following discriminative injunction: "The Lord Mayor, and those Knights that have borne the office of Majoralty, ought to have their cloaks furred with *gray amis*; and those Aldermen that have not been Mayors are to have their cloaks furred with calabre." TODD.

Ver. 428. *Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar*

*Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds, &c.]*

This is an imitation of a passage in the first *Æneid* of Virgil, where Neptune is represented with his trident laying the storm which Æolus had raised, ver. 142.

"Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat,

"*Collectâsque fugat nubes, solémque reducit.*"

There is the greater beauty in the English poet, as the scene he is describing under this charming figure is perfectly consistent with the course of nature; nothing being more common than to see a stormy night succeeded by a pleasant, serene morning.

THYER.

That Milton had here in his mind the ΠΟΛΟΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΣ Ἠώς, the *rosy-finger'd Aurora*, of Homer and Hesiod, must be supposed; but while *rosy-fingered* is the proper epithet of the dawn, which immediately precedes the rising of the sun, the early morning, when the sun is absolutely risen, is justly described with *radiant*, instead of *rosy, fingers*. In availing himself of the heathen poet's

## And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd

mode of characterising the dawn, I conceive, our author had an eye to *the finger of God*. Exodus, viii. 19. Luke xi. 20. It is observable that to *still the roar of the storm* is also a scriptural phrase. Psalm lxxv. 9.—lxxxix. 7.—It is needless to suggest to the reader of taste how much more the beauty and imagery of this passage strikes us, when we consider it with a view to these scriptural allusions. *Aurora*, or the dawn, *rising with rosy fingers*, with a tint of red in the extreme parts of her person that first emerge, is a *pleasing* image; but Morning *with her radiant finger stilling the storm of the preceding night* is a truly sublime one. DUNSTER.

Ver. 430. *And grisly spectres, &c.*] See our author's *Ode on the Nativity*, ft. xxvi. where he beautifully applies the vulgar superstition of spirits disappearing at the break of day, as the ground-work of a comparison. He supposes that all the false deities of every species of the heathen theology departed at the birth of Christ, as spectres and demons vanish when the morning dawns. Under the same superstitious belief, Milton here makes the fiends retire, who had been assembled in the night to terrify our Saviour, when the morn arose. The moment of the evanescence of spirits was supposed to be limited to the crowing of the cock. This superstition is mentioned so early as by Prudentius, *Cathem.* Hymn. i. ver. 38. But some of his commentators, and those not easily to be found, prove it to be of much higher antiquity.

It is a most inimitable circumstance in Shakspeare so to have managed this popular idea, as to make the ghost in *Hamlet*, which has been so long obstinately silent, and of course must be dismissed by the morning, begin or rather prepare to speak, and be interrupted, at the very critical time of the crowing of a cock. This interruption is thus finely touched, A. i. S. i.

“BER. It was about to speak when the cock crew.

“HOR. And then it started, like a guilty thing

“Upon a fearful summons.”

Another poet, according to custom, would have suffered his ghosts tamely to vanish, without contriving this start, which is like a start of guilt. To say nothing of the aggravation of the

To tempt the Son of God with terrours dire.  
 And now the sun with more effectual beams  
 Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet

future suspense, occasioned by this preparation to speak and to impart some mysterious secret. Less would have been expected, had nothing been premised. T. WARTON.

Ver. 431. *To tempt the Son of God &c.*] An eminent and excellent divine is of the same opinion as the poet with respect to the evil Spirits which the Fiend raised, when he tempted our Lord: "This, as we may probably suppose, was the Devil's way of tempting or trying our Lord, during the forty days and nights of his fast; and many opportunities, no doubt, he had in so long a time, by frightful dreams when he slept, frequent apparitions and illusions of evil Spirits in the night, &c." Bragge on the Miracles, vol. ii. p. 12. TODD.

Ver. 432. *And now the sun with more effectual beams  
 Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet  
 From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,  
 Who all things now behold more fresh and green,  
 After a night of storm so ruinous,  
 Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,  
 To gratulate the sweet return of morn.*] There is

in this description all the bloom of Milton's youthful fancy. We may compare an evening scene of the same kind, *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 488—495. THYER.

It is impossible to forbear remarking, that the preceding description exhibits some of the finest lines which Milton has written in all his poems. JOS. WARTON.

Mr. Dunster here refers the reader to part of a beautiful sonnet of Spenser, where the poet is comparing the smiles of his mistress, breaking out after some cloudy looks, (*Sonnet xl.*) He notices also Tasso's description of a sea-storm instantly changed into a perfect calm, by means of the magical bark in which the two knights sail in search of Rinaldo, *Gier. Lib.* c. xv. ft. 9. But this delightful passage of Milton perhaps defies a parallel. So picturesque a scene bespeaks the finished hand of an inimitable master. TODD.

From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,  
 Who all things now behold more fresh and green,  
 After a night of storm so ruinous, 436  
 Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,  
 To gratulate the sweet return of morn.

Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,  
 Was absent, after all his mischief done, 440  
 The Prince of darkness; glad would also seem  
 Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;  
 Yet with no new device, (they all were spent,)  
 Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,  
 Desperate of better course, to vent his rage 445  
 And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.

Him walking on a funny hill he found,  
 Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood;  
 Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,  
 And in a careless mood thus to him said. 450

Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,  
 After a dismal night: I heard the wrack,  
 As earth and sky would mingle; but myself

Ver. 449. ————— *in wonted shape,*] That is, in his own proper shape, and not under any disguise, as at each of the former times when he appeared to our blessed Lord. He comes now hopeless of success, without device or disguise, and, as the poet expressly says,

“ Desperate of better course, to vent his rage

“ And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.” DUNSTER.

Compare *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 819.

“ So started up in his own shape the Fiend.” TODD.

Ver. 453. *As earth and sky would mingle;*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 137.

Was distant ; and these flaws, though mortals  
fear them 454

As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,  
Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,  
Are to the main as inconsiderable  
And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze  
To man's less universe, and soon are gone ; 459  
Yet, as being oft times noxious where they light  
On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,  
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,  
Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,  
They oft fore-signify and threaten ill :  
This tempest at this desert most was bent ; 465  
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'ft.  
Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject  
The perfect season offer'd with my aid

“ Jam cælum terrámque meo sine numine, venti,

“ Miscere, et tantas audetis tollere moles ?”

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 454. ———— *these flaws,*] *Flaw* is a sea term, as Mr. Dunster observes, for a sudden storm, or gust of wind. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. x. 697. TODD.

Ver. 455. *As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,*] So also, *Comus*, v. 597 ;

————— “ if this fail,

“ The *pillar'd firmament* is rottenness.”

In both, no doubt, alluding to *Job*, xxvi. 11. “ The *pillars of Heaven* tremble, and are astonish'd at his reproof.” THYER.

Ver. 467. *Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject*

*The perfect season offer'd with my aid &c.*] Here is something to be understood after *Did I not tell thee ?* The



To win thy destin'd feat, but wilt prolong  
 All to the push of fate, pursue thy way 470  
 Of gaining David's throne, no man knows when,  
 For both the when and how is no where told ?  
 Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt ;  
 For Angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing 474  
 The time and means. Each act is rightliest done,  
 Not when it must, but when it may be best :  
 If thou observe not this, be sure to find,  
 What I foretold thee, many a hard assay  
 Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,  
 Ere thou of Israel's scepter get fast hold ; 480  
 Whereof this ominous night, that clos'd thee  
                     round,  
 So many terrours, voices, prodigies,  
 May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.

*thing told* we may suppose to be what Satan had before said,  
 B. iii. 351.

————— “ Thy kingdom, though foretold  
 “ By Prophet, or by Angel, unless thou  
 “ Endeavour, as thy father David did,  
 “ Thou never shalt obtain ; &c.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 472. *For both the when and how is no where told ?*] Compare Dante, *Paradis.* ver. 46.

“ Ma quella, ond' io aspetto il come, e'l quando  
 “ Del dire, e del tacer, si sta, ond' io,  
 “ Contra 'l disio fo ben ch' io non dimando.” TODD.

Ver. 478. *What I foretold thee, &c.*] See ver. 374, and ver. 381 to v. 389 of this Book. DUNSTER.

Ver. 481. ———— *this ominous night,*] This *portentous*, this *dangerous*, night. See Mr. Warton's note on “ *ominous wood,*” Com. ver. 61. TODD.

So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on  
And staid not, but in brief him answer'd thus. 485

Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm  
Those terrours, which thou speak'st of, did me  
none ;

I never fear'd they could, though noising loud  
And threatening nigh: what they can do, as signs  
Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn 490  
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee ;  
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,  
Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I, accepting,  
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,  
Ambitious Spirit! and would'st be thought my  
God ; 495

And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify  
Me to thy will! desist, (thou art discern'd,  
And toil'st in vain,) nor me in vain molest.

To whom the Fiend, now swoln with rage,  
replied.

Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born, 500  
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt ;

Ver. 500. *Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,*

*For Son of God to me is yet in doubt ;]* That Satan should seriously address our Lord as "Virgin-born," *because* he entertained doubts whether he was in any respect the Son of God, is palpably inconsequent. "To be born of a virgin," Mr. Calton observes from Bp. Pearson, in a subsequent note, "is not so far above the production of all mankind as to place our Lord in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to *the only-begotten Son of God.*" But it must be recollected, that the subject of this poem is a trial *ad probandum* whether the person declared to be Son of God was really the Messiah: to acknowledge

Of the Messiah I had heard foretold  
 By all the Prophets; of 'thy birth at length,  
 Announc'd by Gabriel, with the first I knew,  
 And of the angelick song in Bethlehem field, 505  
 On thy birth-night that fung thee Saviour born.  
 From that time feldom have I ceas'd to eye  
 Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,  
 Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;  
 'Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all 510  
 Flock to the Baptist, I among the rest,  
 (Though not to be baptiz'd,) by voice from  
 Heaven

therefore that he was beyond all dispute born of a virgin, and had thereby fulfilled so material a prophecy respecting the Messiah, would be to admit in some degree the point in question. And however "Virgin-born" might not be supposed to ascertain in any degree the claim to the Messiahship, still it could never be used in an address to our Lord meant to lower him to "mere man." "Son of David," single and by itself, was an expression that Satan might be expected to use, when, characterising our Lord as a mere human being, he professed to disbelieve that he was the Son God, born in a miraculous manner, of a pure virgin, as it was foretold the Messiah should be. "Virgin-born" then must be considered as intended to be highly sarcastic. It is an epithet of the most pointed derision, resembling the HAIL KING OF THE JEWS, and they smote him with their hands. It is that specious of blasphemous insult, which might be expected from the Arch-Fiend, who at the opening of the speech is described "swoln with rage." DUNSTER.

Dr. Joseph Warton is also of opinion, that "Virgin-born," is here an highly sarcastical expression. TODD.

Ver. 502. *Of the Messiah I had heard foretold*] All the editions read "*have heard.*" *Had* seems absolutely requisite.

DUNSTER.

Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.  
 Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view  
 And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn 515  
 In what degree or meaning thou art call'd  
 The Son of God ; which bears no single sense.  
 The Son of God I also am, or was ;  
 And if I was, I am ; relation stands ;  
 All men are Sons of God ; yet thee I thought 520  
 In some respect far higher so declar'd :  
 Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,  
 And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild ;  
 Where, by all best conjectures, I collect  
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy : 525  
 Good reason then, if I before-hand seek  
 To understand my adversary, who  
 And what he is ; his wisdom, power, intent ;  
 By parl or composition, truce or league,  
 To win him, or win from him what I can : 530  
 And opportunity I here have had  
 To try thee, sift thee, and confels have found thee  
 Proof against all temptation, as a rock

Ver. 523. ————— to this waste wild ;] So,  
 in *Par. L.* i. 60. “ A dismal situation, *waste* and *wild*.” And  
 B. iii. 424. “ A boundless continent, dark, *waste*, and *wild*.”

Todd.

Ver. 533. Proof against all temptation, as a rock  
 Of adamant,] Compare Spenfer, *Faer. Qu.* i. vi. 4.

“ But words, and lookes, and sighs, she did abhorre,

“ As rock of diamond stedfast evermore.”

*Rock of adamant* is a phrase in Sandys's *Job*, p. 29. ed. 1648,  
 and in Shirley's *Imposture*, p. 67. ed. 1652. Todd.

Of adamant, and, as a center, firm ; 534  
 To the utmost of mere Man both wise and good,  
 Not more ; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,  
 Have been before contemn'd, and may again.  
 Therefore, to know what more thou art than Man,  
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,  
 Another method I must now begin. 540

So saying he caught him up, and, without wing  
 Of hippogrif, bore through the air sublime,

Ver. 534. ————— as a center, firm ;] Chaucer,  
*Squire's Tale*, ed. Urr. ver. 14.

“ Of his courage, as any centre, stable.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 538. ————— what more thou art than Man,  
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,]

See Bp. Pearson on the Creed, p. 106. “ We must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's filiation, totally distinct from any which belongs unto the rest of the sons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only-begotten Son*. For although to be born of a virgin be in itself miraculous, yet is it not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the *only-begotten*. We read of *Adam the Son of God* as well as *Seth the Son of Adam* : (Luke, iii. 38.) and surely the framing Christ out of a woman cannot so far transcend the making Adam out of the earth, as to cause so great a distance, as we must believe, between the first and second Adam.” CALTON.

Ver. 541. ————— without wing

*Of hippogrif,*] Here Milton designed a reflection upon the Italian poets, and particularly upon Ariosto. Ariosto frequently makes use of the *hippogrif* to convey his heroes from place to place. NEWTON.

Not intended, (as Dr. Newton supposes,) as a reflection upon the Italian poets, but as an allusion merely to his favourite Ariosto, whose charming fancies he could not forget even in his old age. JOS. WARTON.

Over the wilderuess and o'er the plain,  
 Till underneath them fair Jerufalem,  
 The holy city, lifted high her towers, 545  
 And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd  
 Her pile, far off appearing like a mount  
 Of alabafter, topt with golden fpires :  
 There, on the higheft pinnacle, he fet  
 The Son of God ; and added thus in fcorn. 550

Ver. 545. *The holy city,*] Jerufalem is frequently fo called in the Old Testament. It is alfo called the *holy city* by St. Matthew, who wrote his gospel for the ufe of the Jewifh converts ; but by him only, of the four Evangelifts. Dr. Townfon having obferved, that “ St. Matthew alone, of all the Evangelifts, afcribes thofe titles of fanctity to Jerufalem, by which it had been diftinguifhed by the prophets and fared hiftorians, and was known among the neighbouring nations,” thus accounts for this difference between him and the other Evangelifts, on the fupposition that St. Matthew was, as he has generally been fupposed to be, the earlieft writer of the four. “ After fome years the word of God, being received by multitudes in various parts of the world, did as it were fanctify other cities ; while Jerufalem, by rancorous oppofition to the truth, and fanguinary perfecution of it, more and more declined in the efteem of the believers. They acknowledged the title and character which ſhe claimed by ancient prefcription, when St. Matthew wrote ; but between the publication of his gospel and the next, they were taught to transfer the idea of the holy city to a worthier object.” Townfon’s *Discourses*, Difc. iv. S. 3. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ———— *lifted high her towers,*] Sandys, defcribing *Jerufalem*, gives a minute account of the remarkable *height* of her various towers ; fome of which, he adds, were topt *with fpires*, as Milton fays, ver. 548. See his *Travels*, edit, 1615, pp. 156, 157. TODD.

Ver. 549. *There, on the higheft pinnacle, he fet  
 The Son of God ;*] He has choſen to follow the order obſerved by St. Luke, in placing this Temptation laſt,

There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright  
Will ask thee skill; I to thy Father's house

because if he had, with St. Matthew, introduced it in the middle, it would have broke that fine thread of moral reasoning, which is observed in the course of the other Temptations. **THYER.**

In the Gospel account of the Temptation, no discovery is made of the Incarnation; and this grand mystery is as little known to the Tempter at the end, as at the beginning. But now, according to Milton's scheme, the poem was to be closed with a full discovery of it. There are *three* circumstances therefore, in which the poet, to serve his plan, hath varied from the accounts in the gospels.

1. The criticks have not been able to ascertain what the *ἀλεβύριον* or *pinnacle* (as we translate it) was, on which Christ was set by the Demon: but whatever it was, the Evangelists make no difficulty of his standing there. This the poet (following the common use of the word *pinnacle* in our own language) supposeth to be something like those on the battlements of our churches, a pointed spire, on which Christ could not stand without a miracle.

2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Christ give proof of his pretensions by standing on the pinnacle, or by casting himself down. In the Gospels, the last only is or could be suggested.

3. In the Gospel account the prohibition *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God* is alledged only as a reason why Christ (whose divinity is concealed there) must not throw himself down from the top of the temple, because this would have been *tempting God*. But in the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his attempt upon Christ; who is thereby declared to be the *Lord his God*.

**CALTON.**

Bp. Pearce supposes what is in the gospel called *ἀλεβύριον*, and commonly translated *pinnacle*, to have been rather *a wing of the temple*, a flat part of the roof of one of its courts; probably on that side where the Royal Portico was, and where the valley on the outside was the deepest. Josephus (*Antiquit.* xv. 11. 5.) says, "whereas the valley was so deep that a man could scarcely see the bottom of it, Herod built a Portico of so vast a height, that if a man looked from the roof of it, his head would grow giddy, and his sight not be able to reach from that height to the

Have brought thee, and highest plac'd : highest  
is best :

bottom of the valley." Eusebius, (*Hist. Ecclesiast.* ii. 23.) cites the account given by Hegesippus of the death of James the Apostle, in which it is said that the Scribes and Pharisees brought him ἐπὶ τὸ ΠΤΕΥΓΙΟΝ τῆς ναῦς, up to *this elevated point* of the temple, and cast him down from thence. Milton, as Mr. Thyer has observed, follows the order of the temptations as related by St. Luke. It is remarked by Mr. Gilpin that the temptations seem more naturally introduced by St. Matthew, and that the least temptation (according to his order, but which Luke makes the second,) was so abominable in its nature, that it seemed most likely to be that which occasioned Jesus to drive the Devil from him. Milton, he subjoins, thought otherwise. *Exposit. of New Test.* Luke iv. 12. Without controverting this just and sensible remark, we may observe that St. Luke's order suited the poet best; especially as he did not adopt the idea of making the whole a succession of visionary scenes raised by the power of the Tempter on one and the same spot: which also did not suit his purpose. By making each scene more real, he gave more room to description; or at least he made his description more interesting than had its subject matter been the *Crambe recolta* of the Italian poets' magical creations. For this purpose, he made his own additional Temptation of the banquet as real as possible. *He spake no dream* &c. B. ii. 337. All this has much more effect than when the senses are confessedly deluded, or even supposed probably to be so, with a "*videt, aut vidisse putat.*" Accordingly the two first Temptations of the poet are finely brought forward as being in different parts of the WILDERNESS. The scene then changes to the SPECULAR MOUNT for the second Temptation of St. Luke; but returns to the WILDERNESS, where the storm has its due place, with the noblest effect. Again the scene changes entirely for the last Temptation of Milton and St. Luke. This latter Temptation, as Milton has managed it, has something more of a miraculous nature, and has more effect in poetical description. It likewise paves the way so admirably for the sublime conclusion, that I cannot agree with the amiable author of the Exposition, that Milton could



Now shew thy progeny ; if not to stand,  
 Cast thyself down ; safely, if Son of God : 555  
 For it is written, “ He will give command  
 “ Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands  
 “ They shall up lift thee, lest at any time  
 “ Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.”  
 To whom thus Jesus : Also it is written, 560  
 “ Tempt not the Lord thy God.” He said, and  
 stood :

possibly have shewn himself to more advantage by any other method of detailing these Temptations. I have observed how admirably Milton makes the Devil recover himself after the failure of his grossly blasphemous insult on the Divine object of his art, so as to proceed towards the remaining Temptation. I must observe also that the last change of scene to JERUSALEM, and the manner of it, have much of ancient classical, or later Italian, description. At all events, it breaks with admirable effect the colloquial part of the Poem, which no succession of visionary scenes, however exquisitely described, could have done to the same advantage. DUNSTER.

Ver. 561. “ *Tempt not the Lord thy God.*” *He said, and stood :*] Here is what we may call after Aristotle the ἀναστροφή, or the discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of the Tempter ; and to prove it, stands upon the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet’s meaning. 1. The miracle shows it to be so ; which is otherwise impertinently introduced, and against the rule,

“ Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus  
 “ Inciderit.”

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allowed before.

2. There is a connection between Christ’s *saying* and *standing*, which demonstrates that he *stood*, in proof of something he had *said*. Now the prohibition, *Tempt not the Lord thy God*, as alleged in the Gospels from the Old Testament, was in no want

But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.  
As when Earth's son Antæus, (to compare

of such an attestation : but a miracle was wanting to justify the application of it to the Tempter's attack upon Christ; it was for this end therefore that he stood. CALTON.

I cannot entirely approve this learned gentleman's exposition. I am for understanding the words, *Also it is written, Tempt not the Lord thy God*, in the same sense in which they were spoken in the Gospels; because I would not make the poem to differ from the Gospel account, farther than necessity compels, or more than the poet himself has made it. The Tempter sets our Saviour on a pinnacle of the temple, and there requires of him a proof of his divinity, either by standing, or by casting himself down, as he might safely do, if he was the Son of God, according to the quotation from the Psalmist. To this our Saviour answers, as he answers in the Gospels, *It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, tacitly inferring that his casting himself down would be tempting of God. *He said*, that is, he gave this reason for not casting himself down, and stood. His standing properly makes the discovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter required : *Now show thy progeny*. His standing convinces Satan. His standing is considered as the display of his divinity, and the immediate cause of Satan's fall, and the grand contrast is formed between the standing of the one, and the fall of the other.

—————“ He said, and stood :

“ But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.”

and afterwards, ver. 571 :

“ Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.”

NEWTON.

The expression “ *He said and stood :*” is in the manner of Homer, *Il. vii. 354.*

Ἡ τοι ὁ γ' ὡς ἰππῶν, κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο. DUNSTER.

Ver. 563. ——— *Earth's son Antæus,*] This simile in the person of the poet is amazingly fine. WARBURTON.

Ibid. ————— (to compare

*Small things with greatest,*)] This is the third time

Small things with greatest,) in *Iraffa* strove  
 With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foil'd, still rose, 565  
 Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,

Milton has imitated Virgil's "*sic parvis componere magna solebam.*" *Ecl.* i. 24. See *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 921, B. x. 306. Some such mode of qualifying common similes is necessary to a poet writing on divine subjects. DUNSTER.

Ver. 564. ————— in *Iraffa*] *Antæus* dwelt at the city *Iraffa*, according to Pindar. But it was not there that he wrestled with *Hercules*, but at *Lixos*, according to Pliny; "*Lixos vel fabulosissime antiquis narrata. Ibi regia Antæi, certamenque cum Hercule.*" *Nat. Hist.* Lib. v. Cap. 1.

MEADOWCOURT.

Ver. 565. *With Jove's Alcides,*] There were so many *Hercules* in the Grecian mythology and history, that it was necessary to specify when the principal *Hercules*, the son of Jupiter and *Alcmena*, was meant. Thus Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* L. iii. 16. "*Quamquam quem potissimum Herculem colamus, scire fane velim; plures enim nobis tradunt ii, qui interiores scrutantur et reconditas literas; antiquissimum Jove natum.*" Varro says there were forty-three *Hercules*. It may be observed that, though *Hercules* the son of Jupiter is introduced with propriety, the son of Jupiter by *Alcmena* had no right to be called *Alcides*, this being the proper name of the son of *Amphitryon*, whose father was *Alcæus*. And yet Virgil also refers to *Alcides* as the Son of *Jove*, *Æn.* vi. 123. DUNSTER.

*Ibid.* ————— and, oft foil'd, still rose,] Thus in *Tasso*, where the Soldan *Solyman* is slain by *Rinaldo*, the resistance he had before made is compared to that of *Antæus*, in his contest with *Hercules*, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. st. 108.

"Poi che 'l Soldan, che spesso in lunga guerra,  
 "Quasi novello Anteo, cadde e risorse  
 "Piu fero ogn' hora, al fin calco la terra  
 "Per giacer sempre." DUNSTER.

Ver. 566. *Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,*] So, in *Lucan*, iv. 598.

Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,  
 Throttled at length in the air, expir'd and fell;  
 So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,  
 Renewing fresh assaults amidst his pride, 570  
 Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall:  
 And as that Theban monster, that propos'd

“Hoc quoque tam vastas cumulavit munere vires

“*Terra sui factus, quòd, cùm tetigere parentem,*

“*Jam defuncta vigent renovato robore membra.*”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 572. *And as that Theban monster, &c.*] The Sphinx, who, on her riddle being solved by Œdipus, threw herself into the sea. Statius, *Theb.* i. 66.

—————“Si Sphingos iniquæ

“*Callidus ambages, te præmonstrante, resolvi.*”

NEWTON.

The same poet refers also to the *falling of the Sphinx from the Ismenian steep*, when her riddle was solved by Œdipus, *Theb.* xi. 490.

———“dum Cadmus arat? dum victa cadit Sphinx?”

The Sphinx is termed by Euripides, (*Phæniſſ.* v. 813.) *ἄρμιον τέρας*, the “monster of the mountain!” And by Lycophron, *Σφίγκειον τέρας*, (ver. 1465.) where Heyne suggests the reading *Φίγειον τέρας*, the monster of the mountain *Phicius*. Milton seems here to have had Apollodorus’s account of the Sphinx in his mind; at least there is a great coincidence of expression in the mythologist and the poet. Apollodorus says the Sphinx *proposed her riddle* to the Thebans, ΠΡΟΫΤΕΙΝΕ τοῖς Θήβαις, and that, every time they *failed of finding it out*, she seized one of them, and devoured him, ἐπ’ ἂν δὲ ΜΗ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΟΝ, ἀπάσας ἵνα ΚΑΤΑΒΙΒΩΣΚΕ, that Œdipus, upon hearing it, solved it, Οἰδίπῳ δὲ ἀλάσας ΕΛΥΣΕΝ, whereupon *she cast herself headlong* from the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, ΕΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΠΠΙΥΕΝ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως; which last words the learned Heyne thinks are an interpolation, *a malâ manu insertum*, as the mountain *Phicius* to-

Her riddle, and him who solv'd it not devour'd,  
 That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite  
 Cast herself headlong from the Ifmenian steep; 575  
 So, struck with dread and anguish, fell the Fiend,  
 And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought  
 (Joyless triumphals of his hop'd success,)  
 Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,  
 Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 580  
 So Satan fell; and straight a fiery globe  
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,

wards Onchestos, (Pausan. ix. 26.) was allowedly the haunt of the Sphinx. At the same time he observes that she was supposed at times to approach the walls of the Cadmea in search of prey. (Euripid. *Phænix*: 815, 816.) As Phicius was a mountain in the Theban territory, either that, or the Cadmea, might termed the *Ifmenian steep*, from the river Ifmenus, which ran by Thebes; ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπος, καὶ ὁ Ἰεμῆνος διὰ τῆς πεδίου ῥέουσι τῇ πρὸ τῶν Θήβων. Strabo, ix. p. 408. *Ifmenus* is thus frequently used by the Latin poets for *Theban*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 581. *So Satan fell; and straight &c.*] Thus in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, where Presumption is personified, and represented as in vain tempting our blessed Lord, st. xxxviii.

“ But, when she saw her speech prevailed nought,  
 “ Herself she tumbled headlong to the floor;  
 “ But him the Angels on their feathers caught,  
 “ And to an airy mountain nimbly bore.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ———— *and straight a fiery globe  
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,*

*Who on their plummy vans &c.*] There is a peculiar softness and delicacy in this description, and neither circumstances nor words could be better selected to give the reader an idea of the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horror and uneasiness which it is naturally

Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft  
 From his uneasy station, and upbore, 584  
 As on a floating couch, through the blithe air ;

filled with in contemplating the dangerous and uneasy situation he was left in. THYER.

So Psyche was carried down from the rock by Zephyrs, and laid lightly on a green and flowery bank, and there entertained with invisible musick. See Apuleius, Lib. iv. RICHARDSON.

Mr. Richardson might have added that Psyche was also entertained with a banquet ministered by Spirits. See the end of the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses*, and the beginning of the fifth.

DUNSTER.

It should also be added that the *globe of Angels* was perhaps suggested by G. Fletcher, *Christ's Triumph*, st. 13.

—————“ out there flies  
 “ *A globe of winged Angels*, swift as thought.”

See also *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 512. TODD.

Ver. 583. *Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft*

*From his uneasy station, and upbore,*

*As on a floating couch, through the blithe air ;]* If this

description is not from any famous painting, it is certainly a subject for one. But the grammatical inaccuracy here, I am afraid, cannot be palliated. *Him*, according to the common construction of language, certainly must refer to Satan, the person last mentioned. The intended sense of the passage cannot indeed be misunderstood ; but we grieve to find any inaccuracy in a part of the poem so eminently beautiful. DUNSTER.

Ver. 585. ————— *through the blithe air ;]* Which way soever I turn this term *blithe*, it conveys no idea to me suitable to the place it occupies : nor do my dictionaries aid me in the least. The place is certainly corrupted, and ought to run thus, “ through the *lithe* air.” Milton uses the word in his *Par. Lost* in the sense required here, “ and wreath'd his *lithe* proboscis,” B. iv. 347. I make no doubt of the certainty of this conjecture. SYMPSON.

Then, in a flowery valley, fet him down  
 On a green bank, and fet before him spread  
 A table of celestial food, divine

I question whether others will have so good an opinion of this emendation. "Through the *blithe* air" I conceive to be much the same as if he had said "through the *glad* air," and the propriety of such a metaphor wants no justification or explanation.

NEWTON.

"*Blithe* air" is similar to "*buxom* air," *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 842, B. v. 270. But I conceive it to have a farther meaning, *cheerful*, or *pleased with its burthen*; and it strikes me as an intended contrast to a passage in the *Paradise Lost*, describing the flight of Satan, at the time he first rises from the burning lake, when *the dusky air is loaded with his weight*, B. i. 226. DUNSTER.

I humbly apprehend that "*blithe* air" is not similar to "*buxom* air;" for *buxom* signifies *yielding*, or *flexible*, and is, in this sense, the accustomed epithet to *air* among our elder poets: Mr. Symphon's "*lithe* air" approaches nearer to "*buxom* air," because *lithe* also means *flexible*. But the poet wrote "*blithe* air" in reference perhaps to the "fair morning after a dismal night; the clouds being now chas'd, and the winds laid;" and the air consequently *blithe*, light and pure; the epithet *blithe* finely expressing what he says of the *pure air* of Paradise, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 154.

—————"to the heart inspires  
 "Vernal delight and joy, able to drive  
 "All sadness but despair."

Cowley uses the similar combination of "*glad* air" in his *Davidis*, B. i.

"Then flocks of birds through the *glad* air did flee."

The Italian *lieto*, in like manner, sometimes signifies *fresh*. See Vocab. Della Crusca. TODD.

Ver. 587. ————— and fet before him spread

*A table of celestial food, &c.*] Here is much resemblance to a stanza of G. Fletcher, *Christ's Triumph* &c. st. 61.

Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,  
 And, from the fount of life, ambrosial drink, 590  
 That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd  
 What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,  
 Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelick quires  
 Sung heavenly anthems of his victory  
 Over Temptation and the Tempter proud. 595  
 True image of the Father; whether thron'd

“ But to their Lord, now musing in his thought,  
 “ *A heavenly volley of light Angels flew,*  
 “ And from his Father him *a banquet brought*  
 “ *Through the fine element*; for well they knew  
 “ After his lenten fast *he hungry grew*;  
 “ And, *as he fed,* the holy quires combine  
 “ *To sing a hymn of the celestial trine.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 593. ————— angelick quires

*Sung heavenly anthems of his victory &c.]* As Milton in his *Paradise Lost* had represented the Angels singing triumph upon the Messiah's victory over the rebel Angels; so here again with the same propriety they are described celebrating his success against temptation, and to be sure he could not have possibly concluded his work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetick decorum. THYER.

Ver. 596. *True image of the Father*; &c.]

“ Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.”

All the poems that ever were written must yield, even *Paradise Lost* must yield, to the *Regained* in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terrour, on this full proof of his being that very Son of God, whose thunder forced him out of Heaven. The blessed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a sublime truth established, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the Temptation; and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the Tempter. CALTON.



In the bosom of bliss, and light of light  
 Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, enshrin'd  
 In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,  
 Wandering the wilderness; whatever place, 600

Ver. 596. ————— *whether thron'd*

*In the bosom of bliss,]* Thus, in *Paradise Lost*,  
 B. iii. 238, the Son of God says to the Father;

—————“ I, for his sake, will leave

“ *Thy bosom*, and this glory next to thee;”

and the Father, in reply, ver. 305.

“ Because thou hast, though *thron'd in highest bliss*

“ Equal to God, &c.”

The Son of God, after having descended to earth to pass sentence on fallen man, is likewise similarly described returning to his Father in Heaven, B. x. 325. DUNSTER.

The Scripture suggested these expressions to the poet: “ The only-begotten Son, which is *in the bosom of the Father*,” John, i. 18. TODD.

Ver. 598. ————— *enshrin'd*

*In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,]* St. John, i. 14. says, Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ΕΣΚΗΝΩΣΕΝ ἐν ἡμῖν,— which, literally translated, is, “ the word was made *flesh*, and *tabernacled* among us. St. Paul, II Cor. v. 1. terms the body or the “ human form” our earthly house of *this tabernacle*,— ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ ΣΚΗΝΟΥΣ. Thus also our author, in his Ode *On the Passion*;

“ He, sovran Priest, stooping his regal head,

“ That dropp'd with odorous oil down his fair eyes,

“ Poor *fleshly tabernacle* entered.”

And in his Poem, *In Obit. Præc. El.* v. 37.

“ *Animaſque mole carneæ reconditas.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 600. ————— *whatever place,*

*Habit, or ſtate, or motion,]* I cannot think, with Dr. Newton, that this is an allusion to Horace, *Ep.* I. xvii. 23.

“ *Omnis Ariſtippum decuit color, et ſtatu, et reſ.*”

JOS. WARTON.

Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing  
 The Son of God, with God-like force endued  
 Against the attempter of thy Father's throne,  
 And thief of Paradise ! Him long of old  
 Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast 605  
 With all his army ; now thou hast aveng'd  
 Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing  
 Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise,  
 And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.  
 He never more henceforth will dare set foot 610  
 In Paradise to tempt ; his snares are broke :  
 For, though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,  
 A fairer Paradise is founded now  
 For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,  
 A Saviour, art come down to re-install, 615  
 Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,  
 Of Tempter and Temptation without fear.  
 But thou, infernal Serpent ! shalt not long

Ver. 604. *And thief of Paradise !*] Thus, *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 192, where Satan first enters *Paradise* : " So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold." DUNSTER.

The phrase probably owes its origin to St. John x. 1. " He that entereth not in by the door to the sheepfold, but *climbeth* up some other way, the same is a *thief* and a *robber*." I should add, that a *thief* is one of the titles which venerable Bede has expressly given to the Devil. See a list of these titles in Wierus *de Præstigiis Dæmon*. 1582, p. 109. TODD.

Ver. 605. *Thou didst debel,*] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 853. "*Debellare superbos.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 611. ————— *his snares are broke :*] " Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler ; the snare is broken, &c." Psalm, cxxiv. 7. DUNSTER.

Rule in the clouds ; like an autumnal star,  
Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod  
down 620

Under his feet : for proof, ere this thou feel'st  
Thy wound, (yet not thy last and deadliest wound,)  
By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell  
No triumph : in all her gates Abaddon rues  
Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe 625

Ver. 619. ———— *like an autumnal star,*

*Or lightning,]* The poet here, as in other places, imitates profane authors and Scripture both together. Ἀστὴρ ὁπωρινὸς ἐναλίγκιον, *Il.* v. 5. “ I beheld Satan *as lightning* fall from Heaven,” *Luke* x. 18. NEWTON.

There is a peculiar propriety in comparing Satan to an *autumnal star*, on account of the mischiefs that autumnal stars, and Sirius in particular, were supposed to produce to mankind. See *Iliad*, x. 26, &c. and *Aeneid*, x. 272. Milton had before compared him to a comet, that “ from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war,” *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 710. DUNSTER.

Ver. 620. ———— trod down

Under his feet :] “ And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet.” *Romans*, xvi. 20 ; where the marginal reading for *bruise* is *tread*. From whence in the *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 190. “ Whom he shall tread at last under our feet.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 624. ———— *in all her gates]* *Mat.* xvi. 18.

“ The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.” DUNSTER.

It must be added, that the turn of the whole expression, “ Abaddon rues in all her gates,” is also scriptural ; for thus it is said of degenerate Zion, “ And her gates shall lament and mourn,” *Isaiah* iii. 26. TODD.

Ibid. ———— Abaddon] The name of the angel of the bottomless pit, *Rev.* ix. 11 ; here applied to the bottomless pit itself. NEWTON.

To dread the Son of God: He, all unarm'd,  
 Shall chase thee, with the terrour of his voice,  
 From thy demoniack holds, possession foul,  
 Thee and thy legions; yelling they shall fly,

Ver. 626. ————— *all unarm'd,*] In  
 Vida's *Christiad.* i. 192, Satan describes himself having been  
 completely foiled and defeated by our Saviour thus *all unarm'd*;

————— "semper me reppulit ipse,  
 "Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus:"

But *all unarm'd* seems here to be an intended contrast to that  
 very fine description in *Paradise Lost*, of the Messiah completely  
 armed, ascending "the chariot of paternal Deity," to accom-  
 plish the victory over the rebel Angels, and to drive them out of  
 Heaven, B. vi. 760—766. DUNSTER.

Ver. 628. *From thy demoniack holds, possession foul,*] The  
 δαιμονιζόμενοι, or *demoniacks* of the Gospel, are constantly rendered  
 in our version "*possessed with a devil.*" And Babylon is de-  
 scribed "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul  
 spirit," Rev. xviii. 2. DUNSTER.

That is, Babylon is become a *desart*, as prefigured by the  
 prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. Wilderesses are often described  
 as the accustomed haunts of devils. See Elfner in *Luc.* viii. 29.  
 Thus also Tasso's forest, abounding with horrid demons, is  
 termed "a charmed hold," Fairfax, B. xviii. st. 7. The demons  
 of "desart wilderesses" are also alluded to in *Comus*, v. 209.  
 In the same poem the *legions* of evil spirits are noticed, v. 603.

————— "all the grisly legions that troop  
 "Under the footy flag of Acheron."

So in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. xiii. st. 11.

"Legions of devils by thousands thither come." TORD.

Ver. 629. ————— *yelling they shall fly,*  
*And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,*  
*Left he command them down into the deep,*  
*Bound, &c.]* See Matt. viii. 28, and four fol-  
 lowing verses; and Rev. xx. 1, 2, 3. DUNSTER.

And beg to hide them in a herd of swine, 630  
 Left he command them down into the deep,  
 Bound, and to torment sent before their time.—  
 Hail, Son of the Most High, heir of both worlds,  
 Queller of Satan! On thy glorious work  
 Now enter; and begin to save mankind. 635

Thus they the Son of God, our Saviour meek,  
 Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refresh'd,

Ver. 634. Queller of Satan!] Par. Lost, B. xii. 311.

————— “ who shall quell  
 “ *The adversary-serpent*, and bring back,  
 “ Through the world’s wilderness, long-wander’d man,  
 “ Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.” DUNSTER.

Alluding in both to the prophetic promise, “ *The seed of the Woman shall bruise the head of the serpent*,” TODD.

Ver. 635. *Now enter*; &c.] May I venture to say, that I think this line, the last of the triumphant Song of the Angels, would have been a fine and forcible conclusion of the poem without the addition of the four following, which are comparatively feeble. JOS. WARTON.

It has been argued, from the four concluding lines, that the Poem is not complete; that is, that Milton had an idea of carrying it on further: Otherwise, the hymn of the angels would have been a fine close. See Peck’s *Memoirs of Milton*, p. 80. DUNSTER.

Ver. 636. ————— *our Saviour meek*,] “ Learn of me, for I am meek, and lowly of heart.” Mat. xi. 29.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 637. ———— *from heavenly feast refresh’d*,] Milton formed his description of the *heavenly feast*, from the few words of Matt. iv. 11. “ And behold, *Angels came and ministered unto him*.” Compare v. 587 &c. Let it be added, that a more pleasing commentary on the expression of the Evangelist could not have been penned. TODD.

“ For my opinion about the *PARADISE REGAINED*, *whether complete or not?* There is nobody less possessed of the means to decide such a critical question than myself; or indeed any other philological one; but, if you will have it, I think it is so. And that, not merely because Milton himself seems to have thought so, by ending it there; but because I observe the *Iliad* to be finished by the death &c. of Hector, and the *Æneid* by that of Turnus: that is, when the action had proceeded so far as to bring to pass the cardinal event upon which all that was to follow must happen; after Hector's death, Troy must fall; and, when Turnus was slain, Æneas must establish himself, by marrying Lavinia, &c. So, after the Tempter was defeated, Man was put into a state of *regaining Paradise*, as Christ thereby stood enabled to perform all the points of his mission and purposes, which were to be the ground of it. It is these breaks, and leaving things to be imagined, &c. that, with the use of some other figures, make a poem differ from a dry history. In the first, 'tis enough to show the reader the promised land distinctly; the last ought to carry him thither, and put him in possession.”

• The *Paradise Regained* is certainly a most admirable Poem, and breathes the very genius, and spirit, and soul of Milton in every line; and, in a word, is worthy, not only of him, but even of

“ Blind Melefigenes, thence Homer call'd,

“ Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own.”

PECK.

• Whether Milton supposed the Redemption of Mankind, as he here represents it, was procured by Christ's Triumph over the Devil in the wilderness; or whether he thought that the scene of the desert opposed to that of Paradise, and the action of a temptation withstood, to a temptation fallen under, made *Paradise Regained* a more regular sequel to *Paradise Lost*: Or, if neither this nor that, whether it was his being tired out with the labour of composing *Paradise Lost*, which made him averse to another work of length, (and then he would never be at a loss for fanciful reasons to determine him in the choice of his plan,) is very uncertain. • All that we can be sure of is, that the plan is a very unhappy one, and defective even in that narrow view of a sequel; for it affords the poet no opportunity of driving the Devil back again to Hell from his new conquests in the air. In the mean

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time nothing was easier than to have invented a good one; which should end with the Resurrection, and comprife *these four books*, somewhat contracted, in an episode; for which only the subject of them is fit. **WARBURTON.**

Confined as the subject of *Paradise Regained* was, I make no question that Milton thought it an epick poem as well as the *Paradise Lost*. For, in his invocation, he undertakes

————— “ to tell of deeds  
“ Above heroick :”

And he had no notion that an epick poem must of necessity be formed after the example of Homer, and according to the precepts of Aristotle.\* In the introduction to the second book of his *Reason of Church-Government* he thus delivers his sentiments. “ Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting; whether that epick form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a *diffuse*, and the book of Job a *brief, model*: or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and use judgement, is no transgression, but an enriching of art.” † We see that he looked upon the book of Job, as a *brief model of an epick poem*: and the subject of *Paradise Regained* is much the same as that of the book of Job, a good man triumphing over temptation; and the greatest part of it is in dialogue as well as the book of Job, and abounds with moral arguments and reflections, which were more natural to that season of life, and better suited Milton’s age and infirmities, than gay florid descriptions. ‡ For, by Mr. Elwood’s account, he had not thought of the *Paradise Regained*, till after he had finished the *Paradise Lost*: § The first hint of it was suggested by Elwood, while Milton resided at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire during the plague in London; and afterwards, when Elwood visited him in London, he showed him the poem finished, so that he was not long in conceiving, or long in writing, it: ¶ And this is the reason why in the *Paradise Regained* there are much fewer imitations of, and allusions to, other authors, than in the *Paradise Lost*. ¶ The *Paradise Lost* he was long in meditating, and had laid in a



large stock of materials, which he had collected from all authors ancient and modern: but in the *Paradise Regained* he composed more from memory, and with no other help from books, than such as naturally occurred to a mind so thoroughly tinctured and seasoned, as his was, with all kinds of learning. Mr. Thyer makes the same observation, particularly with regard to the Italian poets. From the very few allusions, says he, to the Italian poets, in this poem one may draw, I think, a pretty conclusive argument for the reality of those pointed out in the notes upon *Paradise Lost*, and show that they are not, as some may imagine, mere accidental coincidences of great geniuses writing upon similar subjects. Admitting them to be such only, no tolerable reason can be assigned why the same should not occur in the same manner in the *Paradise Regained*: whereas, upon the other supposition of their being real, the difference of the two poems in this respect is easily accounted for. It is very certain, that Milton formed his first design of writing an epick poem very soon after his return from Italy, if not before, and highly probable that he then intended it after the Italian model, as he says, speaking of this design in his *Reason of Church Government*, that “he applied himself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the art and industry he could unite to the adorning of his native tongue”—and again that he was then meditating “what king or knight before the Conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero, as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey’s expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards.” This would naturally lead him to a frequent perusal of the choicest wits of that country; and although he dropt his first scheme, and was some considerable time before he executed the present work, yet still the impressions he had first received would be fresh in his imagination, and he would of course be drawn to imitate their particular beauties, though he avoided following them in his general plan. The case was far otherwise when the *Paradise Regained* was composed. As Mr. Elwood informs us, Milton did not so much as think of it till he was advanced in years; and it is not very likely, considering the troubles and infirmities he had long laboured under, that his studies had been much employed about that time among

the sprightly Italians, or indeed any writers of that turn. Consistent with this supposition we find it of a quite different stamp; and, instead of allusions to poets either ancient or modern, it is full of moral and philosophical reasonings, to which sort of thoughts an afflicted old age must have turned our author's mind.

NEWTON.

If the *Paradise Regained* is inferior, as indeed I think it must be allowed to be, to the *Paradise Lost*, it cannot justly be imputed, as some would have it, to any decay of Milton's genius, but to his being cramped down by a more barren and contracted subject. THYER.

Of *Paradise Regained* the general judgement seems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and every where instructive. It was not to be supposed that the writer of *Paradise Lost* could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom. The basis of the poem is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this Poem been written not by Milton, but by some imitator, it would have claimed and received universal praise. JOHNSON. .

Dr. Newton, in his Life of Milton, speaking of *this Poem*, says, "Certainly it is very worthy of the author, and, contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regained* as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered." His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow." Mr. Thyer likewise remarks the barrenness of the subject. Dr. Warburton also pronounces the plan to be "a very unhappy and defective one." But none of these learned criticks [except Dr. Newton] seem to have considered what we may collect from our author himself; that he designed this poem for, what he terms, *the brief epick*, which he particularly distinguishes from the *great and diffuse epick*, of which kind are the great poems of Homer and Virgil, and his own *Paradise Lost*. From the Introduction to the second Book of his *Reason of*

*Church Government*, [cited in the preceding remark by Dr. Newton,] we may suppose his model to have been in a great measure the book of Job; and however the subject which he selected may have been considered as narrow ground, and one that cramped his genius, there is no reason to imagine that it was chosen hastily or inconsiderately.♥ It was particularly adapted to the species of poem he meant to produce, namely, the *brief*, or *didactic*, Epick.♠ The basis he thought perfectly adequate to the superstructure which he meant to raise; to the merit of which the lapse of time bears the material testimony of a gradually encreasing admiration.

Since the above was written, I am happy to add the opinion of a gentleman, whose judgement must have the greatest weight, if to have excelled eminently in poetry is, (as it should be supposed to be,) a title to judge of it in others. “Milton,” says Mr. Hayley, “had already executed one extensive divine poem, peculiarly distinguished by richness and sublimity of description: In framing a second he naturally wished to vary its effect; to make it rich in moral sentiment, and sublime in its mode of unfolding the highest wisdom that man can learn; for this purpose it was necessary to keep all the ornamental parts of the poem in due subordination to the precept. This delicate and difficult point is accomplished with such felicity; they are blended together with such exquisite harmony and mutual aid; that, instead of arraigning the plan, we might rather doubt if any possible change could improve it. Assuredly there is no poem of an epick form, where the sublimest moral is so forcibly and so abundantly united to poetical delight: the splendour of the poet does not blaze indeed so intensely as in his larger production; here he resembles the Apollo of Ovid, softening his glory in speaking to his son, and avoiding to dazzle the fancy that he may descend into the heart.” Hayley’s *Life of Milton*. The same biographer, in another place, having spoken of the “uncommon energy of thought and felicity of composition apparent in Milton’s two poems, however different in design, dimension, and effect,” adds, “To censure the *Paradise Regained*, because it does not more resemble the *Paradise Lost*, is hardly less absurd, than it would be to condemn the Moon for not being a Sun, instead of admiring the two different luminaries, and feeling that both the

greater and the less are equally the work of the same divine and inimitable power." DUNSTER.

Doubtless the *Paradise Regained*, like the mild and pleasing brightness of the lesser luminary, will ever obtain its comparative admiration. The fine sentiments, which it breathes; the pure morality, which it inculcates; and the striking imagery, with which it is frequently embellished; must commend the Poem, while taste and virtue are respected, to the grateful approbation of the world. The versification indeed wants the variety and animation, which so eminently distinguish the numbers of *Paradise Lost*. And it cannot but be acknowledged that the plan is faulty: For, to attribute the Redemption of Mankind solely to Christ's triumph over the temptations in the wilderness, is a notion not only contracted, but untrue. The gate of everlasting Life was opened, through the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. Dr. Bentley's remark has not yet been controverted: See the note on *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 182. I do not, however, think, that *Paradise Regained* is without "allusions to poets either ancient or modern," as is insinuated in a preceding remark: It exhibits, on the contrary, several elegant imitations, interwoven with Milton's original graces, both of the classical and the romantick Muses. TODD.

THE END OF PARADISE REGAINED.

# SAMSON AGONISTES,

A

## DRAMATICK POEM.

ARISTOT. *Poet.* Cap. 6.

Τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, κ. τ. λ.

Tragœdia est imitatio actionis seriæ, &c. per misericordiam  
et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.



*Of that sort of Dramatick Poem which is called Tragedy.*

TRAGEDY, as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems: therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising pity and fear, or terrour, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, that is, to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirred up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion: <sup>2</sup> for so, in

<sup>1</sup> *Of that sort of dramatick poem, called Tragedy.*] Milton, who was inclined to Puritanism, had good reason to think, that the publication of his *Samson Agonistes* would be very offensive to his brethren, who held poetry, and particularly that of the dramatick kind, in the greatest abhorrence. And, upon this account, it is probable, that, in order to excuse himself from having engaged in this proscribed and forbidden species of writing, he thought it expedient to prefix to his Play a formal *Defence of Tragedy*. T. WARTON.

<sup>2</sup> *for so, in physick, &c.*] These expressions of Milton may be supposed to refer to the doctrine of Signatures then in vogue; which had been introduced by Paracelsus between the years 1530 and 1540, and which inferred the propriety of the use of any vegetable, or mineral, in medicine from the similarity of colour, shape, or appearance, which these remedies might bear to the part affected. Thus yellow things, as saffron, turmeric, &c. were given in liver complaints from their analogy of colour to the bile; and other remedies were given in nephritic disorders because the seed or leaf of the plant resembled the kidney. See

phyfick, things of melancholick hue and quality are ufed againft melancholy, four againft four, falt to remove falt humours. Hence philosophers and other graveft writers, as Cicero, Plutarch, and others, frequently cite out of tragick poets, both to adorn and illuftrate their difcourfe. The Apoftle Paul himfelf thought it not unworthy to infer<sup>3</sup> a verfe of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture, I *Cor.* xv. 33; and Paræus, commenting on the Revelation, divides the whole

Paracels. *Labyrinth. Med.* c. 8. And Dr. Pemberton's very elegant preface to the Englifh edition of the London Difpenfary.

DUNSTER.

<sup>3</sup> *a verfe of Euripides*] The verfe, here quoted, is *Evil communications corrupt good manners*: but I am inclined to think that Milton is miftaken in calling it a verfe of *Euripides*; for Jerome and Grotius (who published the fragments of Menander) and the beft commentators, ancient and modern, fay that it is taken from the Thais of *Menander*, and it is extant among the fragments of Menander, p. 79. Le Clerc's edit. Φθείραςίν ἦθη χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί. Such flips of memory may be found fometimes in the beft writers. NEWTON.

Mr. Glaffe, the learned tranflator of this tragedy into Greek Iambicks, agrees with Dr. Newton. Dr. Macknight, in his excellent Tranflation of the Epiftles, is of opinion, that the fentiment is of elder date than the time of Menander; that it was one of the proverbial verfes commonly received among the Greeks, the author of which cannot now be known. Clemens Alexandrinus calls it Ἰαμβεῖον τραγικόν, *Strom.* lib. i. And Socrates the hiftorian exprefsly affigns it to Euripides, *Ecc. Hift.* lib. iii. cap. 16. ed. Vales. p. 189. It is extant indeed in the fragments of Euripides, as well as in thofe of the comick writer. Milton therefore is not to be charged with forgetfulnefs, or miftake.

TODD.



book as a tragedy, into acts distinguished each by a chorus of heavenly harpings and song between. Heretofore men in highest dignity have laboured not a little to be thought able to compose a tragedy. Of that honour Dionysius the elder was no less ambitious, than before of his attaining to the tyranny. Augustus Cæsar also had begun his Ajax, but, unable to please his own judgement with what he had begun, left it unfinished. Seneca, the philosopher is by some thought the author of those tragedies (at least the best of them) that go under that name. Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church, thought it not unbeseeming the sanctity of his person to write <sup>4</sup> a tragedy, which is entitled *Christ suffering*. This is mentioned to vindicate tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes; happening through the poet's error <sup>5</sup> of intermixing co-

<sup>4</sup> *a tragedy, &c.*] A very severe, but very just, criticism on this tragedy of Gregory, which has been too much applauded, has been given by the learned Valckenacr, Præfat. in Euripidis Hippolytum, p. 13. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1768. Jos. WARTON.

It seems very extraordinary that Milton did not here likewise mention the tragedies of Grotius; his *Adamus Exul*, *Christus Patiens*, and *Sophomphanæus*; in his dedication of the last of which to Gerard Vossius, Grotius justifies the writing of tragedy with examples and arguments similar to those of Milton in this tragedy: DUNSTER.

<sup>5</sup> *of intermixing comick stuff &c.*] This might refer to Shak-

mick stuff with tragick sadness and gravity ; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd ; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And <sup>6</sup> though Ancient Tragedy use no prologue, yet using sometimes, in case of self-defence, or explanation, that which Martial calls an epistle ; in behalf of this tragedy coming forth after the ancient manner, much different from what among us passes for best, thus much before-hand may be epistled ;

speare, or Beaumont and Fletcher, or other dramatick writers of that time. Dryden also, who, when *Samson* appeared, was the active play-wright of the age, frequently at that period wrote Tragi-Comedies. His earliest piece of the kind was *Secret Love or the Maiden Queen*. In the preface to his *Spanish Friar* he defends this style of writing, at least he says the taste of the age required it. " The truth is," says he, " the audience are grown weary of continued melancholy scenes. And I dare venture to prophesy, that few tragedies, except those in verse, shall succeed in this age, if they are not enlightened with a course of mirth." The *Spanish Friar* was a particularly favourite play with Charles the second ; to please whom Dryden perhaps first began to *enlighten* his tragedies *with a course of mirth* ; as the levity of the king's disposition would hardly have reconciled itself to five acts of continued melancholy scenes. Milton, we may well suppose, thought of these interludes, in which comick stuff was intermixed with tragick sadness, much in the same way as he did of their admirers ; whose vitiated taste, and weak levity of disposition, he most probably held in no small degree of contempt.

DUNSTER.

<sup>6</sup> *though Ancient Tragedy use no prologue,*] That is, no prologue apologising for the poet, as we find the Ancient Comedy did. See Terence's Prologues. HURD.

that <sup>7</sup> Chorus is here introduced after the Greek manner, <sup>8</sup> not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians. In the modelling therefore of this poem, with good reason, the Ancients and Italians are rather followed, as of much more authority and fame. The measure of verse used in the Chorus is of all sorts, called by the Greeks Monostrophick, or

<sup>7</sup> *Chorus is here introduced*] The reader will find a masterly account of the old Chorus in Mr. Cumberland's Observations on this tragedy. "But," to use the words of Dr. Warton, "what shall we say to the strong objections lately made by some very able and learned criticks of the use of the Chorus at all? The criticks I have in view, are Metastasio, Twining, Pye, Colman, and Johnson; who have brought forward such powerful arguments against this so important a part of the ancient drama, as to shake our conviction of its utility and propriety, founded on what Hurd, Mason, and Brumoy, have so earnestly and elegantly recommended on the subject." See Warton's Pope, vol. i. p. 158.

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<sup>8</sup> *not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians.*] So, in *The Warres of Cyrus*, 1594, the Address to the Audience observes, that all "antickes, imitations, shews, or new devices sprung a late, are exhilde from their tragick stage, as trash, &c.

—————"For what they do  
 "Instead of mournful plaints our CHORUS sings;  
 "Although it be against the vpspart guise,  
 "Yet, warranted by graue antiquitie,  
 "We will reuiue the which hath long beene done."

The obligations we owe to Italy in regard especially to Tragedy, as well as the history and nature of the Italian drama, are illustrated with great learning, precision, and elegance, in an *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 4to. 1799, and in an *Historical and Critical Essay on the Revival of the Drama in Italy*, 8vo. 1805; both by Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. to which I refer the reader for the fullest information on this subject. TODD.

rather <sup>9</sup> *Apolelymenon*, without regard had to Strophe, Antistrophe, or Epode, which were a kind of stanzas framed only for the musick, then used with the Chorus that sung; not essential to the poem, and therefore not material; or, being divided into stanzas or pauses, they may be called *Allæostropha*. Division into act and scene referring chiefly to the stage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted.

It suffices if the whole drama be found not produced beyond the fifth act. Of the style and uniformity, and that commonly called the plot, whether intricate or explicit, which is nothing indeed but such œconomy, or disposition of the fable as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum; they only will best judge who are not unacquainted with *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, the three tragick poets unequalled yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavour to write tragedy. The circumscription of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is according to ancient rule, and best example, within the space of twenty-four hours.

<sup>9</sup> *Apolelymenon*,] Free from the restraint of any *particular* measure, not from all measure whatsoever. HURD.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS  
ON  
SAMSON AGONISTES.

(a) **I**T is required by Aristotle to the perfection of a tragedy, and is equally necessary to every other species of regular composition, that it should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. “The beginning,” says he, “is that which has nothing necessarily previous, but to which that which follows is naturally consequent; the end, on the contrary, is that which by necessity, or at least according to the common course of things, succeeds something else, but which implies nothing consequent to itself; the middle is connected on one side to something that naturally goes before, and on the other to something that naturally follows it.”

Such is the rule, laid down by this great critick, for the disposition of the different parts of a well constituted fable. It must begin, where it may be made intelligible without introduction; and end, where the mind is left in repose, without expectation of any further event. The intermediate passages must join the last effect to the first cause, by a regular and unbroken concatenation; nothing must be therefore inserted which does not apparently

(a) From Dr. Johnson's *Rambler*, vol. iii. No. 139, and No. 140

arise from something foregoing, and properly make way for something that succeeds it.

This precept is to be understood in its rigour, only with respect to great and essential events, and cannot be extended in the same force to minuter circumstances and arbitrary decorations, which yet are more happy as they contribute more to the main design; for it is always a proof of extensive thought and accurate circumspection, to promote various purposes by the same act; and the idea of an ornament admits use, though it seems to exclude necessity.

Whoever purposes, as it is expressed by Milton, "*to build the lofty rhyme*," must acquaint himself with this law of poetical architecture, and take care that his edifice be solid as well as beautiful; that nothing stand single or independent, so as that it may be taken away without injuring the rest; but that from the foundation to the pinnacles one part rest firm upon another.

This regular and consequential distribution is among common authors frequently neglected; but the failures of those, whose example can have no influence, may be safely overlooked, nor is it of much use to recall obscure and unregarded names to memory, for the sake of sporting with their infamy. But if there is any writer whose genius can embellish impropriety, and whose authority can make error venerable, his works are the proper objects of critical inquiry. To expunge faults where there are no excellencies, is a task equally useless with that of the chemist, who employs the arts of separation and refinement upon

ore, in which no precious metal is contained to reward his operations.

The tragedy of *Samson Agonistes* has been celebrated as the second work of the great author of *Paradise Lost*, and opposed with all the confidence of triumph to the dramattick performances of other nations. It contains indeed just sentiments, maxims of wisdom, and oracles of piety, and many passages written with the ancient spirit of choral poetry, in which there is a just and pleasing mixture of Seneca's moral declamation with the wild enthusiasm of the Greek writers. It is therefore worthy of examination, whether a performance thus illuminated with genius, and enriched with learning, is composed according to the indispensable laws of Aristotelian criticism; and, omitting at present all other considerations, whether it exhibits a beginning, a middle, and an end.

The (b) beginning is undoubtedly beautiful and proper, opening with a graceful abruptness, and proceeding naturally to a mournful recital of facts necessary to be known. The soliloquy of Samson is interrupted by a Chorus, or company of men of his own tribe, who condole his miseries, extenuate his fault, and conclude with a solemn vindication

(b) As this work, says doctor Newton, was not intended for the stage, it is not divided into acts; but if any critick should be disposed so to divide it, he may easily do it, by beginning the *second* act at the entrance of Manoah; the *third* at the entrance of Dalila; the *fourth* at the entrance of Harapha; and the *fifth* at the entrance of the Publick Officer: But the Stage is never empty or without persons, according to the model of the best written tragedies among the ancients.

of Divine Justice. So that, at the conclusion of the first act, there is no design laid, no discovery made, nor any disposition formed towards the subsequent event.

In the second act, Manoah, the father of Samson, comes to seek his son; and, being shown him by the Chorus, breaks out into lamentations of his misery, and comparisons of his present with his former state; representing to him the ignominy which his religion suffers, by the festival this day celebrated in honour of Dagon, to whom the idolaters ascribed his overthrow. Samson, touched with the reproach, makes a reply equally penitential and pious, which his father considers as the effusion of prophetick confidence.

*Samson.*

“ God, be sure,

“ Will not connive or linger, thus provok’d,

“ But will arise and his great name assert :

“ Dagon must stoop, and shall e’er long receive

“ Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him

“ Of all these boasted trophies won on me.

*Manoah.* “ With cause this hope relieves thee, and these words

“ I as a prophecy receive ; for God,

“ Nothing more certain, will not long defer

“ To vindicate the glory of his Name.”

This part of the dialogue, as it might tend to animate or exasperate Samson, cannot, I think, be censured as wholly superfluous ; but the succeeding dispute, in which Samson contends to die, and which his father breaks off, that he may go to solicit his release, is only valuable for its own beauties, and has no tendency to introduce any thing that follows it.



The next event of the drama is the arrival of Dalila, with all her graces, artifices, and allurements. This produces a dialogue, in a very high degree elegant and instructive, from which she retires, after she has exhausted her persuasions, and is no more seen or heard of; nor has her visit any effect but that of raising the character of Samson.

In the fourth act enters Harapha, the giant of Gath, whose name had never been mentioned before, and who has now no other motive of coming than to see the man whose strength and actions are so loudly celebrated. Samson challenges him to the combat; and, after an interchange of reproaches, elevated by repeated defiance on one side, and embittered by contemptuous insults on the other, Harapha retires; we then hear it determined, by Samson and the Chorus, that no consequence good or bad will proceed from their interview.

At last, in the fifth act, appears a Messenger from the lords assembled at the festival of Dagon, with a summons, by which Samson is required to come and entertain them with some proof of his strength. Samson, after a short expostulation, dismisses him with a firm and absolute refusal; but during the absence of the Messenger, having a while defended the propriety of his conduct, he at last declares himself moved by a secret impulse to comply, and utters some dark presages of a great event to be brought to pass by his agency, under the direction of Providence. While Samson is conducted off by the Messenger, his father returns with hopes of success in his solicitation, upon which he confers with the Chorus till their dialogue is interrupted,

first by a shout of triumph, and afterwards by screams of horror and agony. As they stand deliberating where they shall be secure, a man, who had been present at the show, enters; and relates how Samson, having prevailed on his guide to suffer him to lean against the main pillars of the theatrical edifice, tore down the roof upon the spectators and himself. This is undoubtedly a just and regular catastrophe; and the poem, therefore, has a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved; but it must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson. The whole drama, if its superfluities were cut off, would scarcely fill a single act; yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded.

It is common, says Bacon, to desire the end without enduring the means. Every member of society feels, and acknowledges, the necessity of detecting crimes; yet scarce any degree of virtue or reputation is able to secure an informer from publick hatred. The learned world has always admitted the usefulness of critical disquisitions; yet he that attempts to show, however modestly, the failures of a celebrated writer, shall surely irritate his admirers, and incur the imputation of envy, captiousness, and malignity.

With this danger full in my view, I shall proceed to examine the sentiments of Milton's tragedy, which, though much less liable to censure than the disposition of his plan, are, like those of other writers, sometimes exposed to just exception for want of care, or want of discernment.

Sentiments are proper and improper as they consist more or less with the character and circumstances of the person to whom they are attributed, with the rules of the composition in which they are found, or with the settled and unalterable nature of things.

It is common among the tragick poets to introduce their persons alluding to events or opinions, of which they could not possibly have any knowledge. The barbarians of remote or newly discovered regions often display their skill in European learning. The god of love is mentioned in Tamerlane with all the familiarity of a Roman epigrammist ; and a late writer has put Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood into the mouth of a Turkish statesman, who lived near two centuries before it was known even to philosophers or anatomists.

Milton's learning, which acquainted him with the manners of the ancient eastern nations ; and his invention, which required no assistance from the common cant of poetry ; have preserved him from frequent outrages of local or chronological propriety. Yet he has mentioned *Chalybean Steel* (ver. 133.), of which it is not very likely that his Chorus should have heard ; and has made *Alp* the general name of a mountain (ver. 628.), in a region where the *Alps* could scarcely be known. He has taught Samson the tales of Circe and the Syrens, at which he apparently hints in his colloquy with Dalila :

“ Thy fair *enchanted cup*, and *warbling charms*,

“ No more on me have power.”

But the grossest error of this kind is the solemn introduction of the phoenix in the last scene ; which

is faulty, not only as it is incongruous to the personage to whom it is ascribed, but as it is so evidently contrary to reason and nature, that it ought never to be mentioned but as a fable in any serious poem.

Another species of impropriety is the unsuitableness of thoughts to the general character of the poem. The seriousness and solemnity of tragedy necessarily rejects all pointed or epigrammatical expressions, all remote conceits and opposition of ideas. Samson's complaint is therefore too elaborate to be natural :

“ As in the land of darkness, yet in light,  
 “ To live a life half dead, a living death,  
 “ And buried ; but O yet more miserable !  
 “ Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave !  
 “ Buried, yet not exempt,  
 “ By privilege of death and burial,  
 “ From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs.”

All allusions to low and trivial objects, with which contempt is usually associated, are doubtless unsuitable to a species of composition, which ought to be always awful, though not always magnificent. The remark therefore of the Chorus on good and bad news, seems to want elevation :

*Manoah.* “ A little stay will bring some notice hither.

*Chorus.* “ Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner ;

“ For evil news *rides post*, while good news *bates*.”

But of all meanness, that has least to plead which is produced by mere verbal conceits ; which, depending only upon sounds, lose their existence by the change of a syllable. Of this kind is the following dialogue ;

*Chor.* " But had we best retire? I see a *storm*.

*Samf.* " Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.

*Chor.* " But this another kind of tempest brings.

*Samf.* " Be less abstruse, my riddling days are past.

*Chor.* " Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear  
 " The bait of honied words; a rougher tongue  
 " Draws hitherward; I know him by his stride,  
 " The giant Harapha."

And yet more despicable are the lines in which Manoah's paternal kindness is commended by the Chorus:

" Fathers are wont to *lay up* for their sons,

" 'Thou for thy son art bent to *lay out* all."

Samson's complaint of the inconveniencies of imprisonment is not wholly without verbal quaintness:

———" I, a *prisoner* chain'd, scarce freely draw

" The air *imprison'd* also, close and damp."

From the sentiments we may properly descend to the consideration of the language, which, in imitation of the ancients, is through the whole dialogue remarkably simple and unadorned, seldom heightened by epithets, or varied by figures; yet sometimes metaphors find admission, even where their consistency is not accurately preserved. Thus Samson confounds loquacity with a shipwreck:

" How could I once look up, or heave the head,

" Who, like a foolish *pilot*, have *shipwreck'd*

" My *vessel* trusted to me from above,

" Gloriously *rigg'd*; and for a word, a tear,

" Fool! have *divulg'd* the *secret* gift of God

" To a deceitful woman?"

And the Chorus talks of adding fuel to flame in a report:

“ He’s gone, and who knows how he may *report*  
 “ *Thy words, by adding fuel to the flame.*”

The versification is in the dialogue much more smooth and harmonious, than in the parts allotted to the Chorus, which are often so harsh and dissonant, as scarce to preserve, whether the lines end with or without rhymes, any appearance of metrical regularity.

Since I have thus pointed out the faults of Milton, critical integrity requires that I should endeavour to display his excellencies, though they will not easily be discovered in short quotations, because they consist in the justness of diffuse reasonings, or in the contexture and method of continued dialogues; this play having none of those descriptions, similes, or splendid sentences, with which other tragedies are so lavishly adorned.

Yet some passages may be selected which seem to deserve particular notice, either as containing sentiments of passion, representations of life, precepts of conduct, or fallies of imagination. It is not easy to give a stronger representation of the weariness of despondency, than in the words of Samson to his father :

————— “ I feel my genial spirits droop,  
 “ My hopes all flat; Nature within me seems  
 “ In all her functions weary of herself;  
 “ My race of glory run, and race of shame,  
 “ And I shall shortly be with them that rest.”

The reply of Samson to the flattering Dalila affords a just and striking representation of the stratagems and allurements of feminine hypocrisy :

————— “ These are thy wonted arts,  
 “ And arts of every woman false like thee,  
 “ To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray,  
 “ Then as repentant to submit, beseech,  
 “ And reconciliation move with feign’d remorse,  
 “ Confess, and promise wonders in her change;  
 “ Not truly penitent, but chief to try  
 “ Her husband, how far urg’d his patience bears,  
 “ His virtue or weakness which way to assail:  
 “ Then with more cautious and instructed skill  
 “ Again transgresses, and again submits.”

When Samson has refused to make himself a spectacle at the feast of Dagon, he first justifies his behaviour to the Chorus, who charge him with having served the Philistines, by a very just distinction; and then destroys the common excuse of cowardice and servility, which always confound temptation with repulsion:

*Chor.* “ Yet with thy strength thou serv’st the Philistines.

*Samf.* “ Not in their idol-worship, but by labour  
 “ Honest and lawful to deserve my food  
 “ Of those who have me in their civil power.

*Chor.* “ Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.

*Samf.* “ Where outward force constrains, the sentence  
 holds;

“ But who constrains me to the temple of Dagon,  
 “ Not dragging? The Philistine lords command:  
 “ Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,  
 “ I do it freely, venturing to displease  
 “ God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,  
 “ Set God behind.”

The complaint of blindness, which Samson pours out at the beginning of the tragedy, is equally addressed to the passions and the fancy. The enumeration of his miseries is succeeded by a very pleasing

train of poetical images, and concluded by such expostulations and wishes, as reason too often submits to learn from despair.

Such are the faults, and such the beauties, of *Samson Agonistes*; which I have shown with no other purpose than to promote the knowledge of true criticism. The everlasting verdure of Milton's laurels has nothing to fear from the blasts of malignity; nor can my attempt produce any other effect than to strengthen their shoots by lopping their luxuriance. JOHNSON.

\* When I remarked that Jonson, in his comedy of *The Fox*, was a close copier of the ancients, it occurred to me to say something upon the celebrated drama of *Samson Agonistes*; which, though less beholden to the Greek poets in its dialogue than the comedy above-mentioned, is in all other particulars as complete an imitation of the Ancient Tragedy, as the distance of times and the difference of languages will admit of.

It is professedly *built according to ancient rule and example*; and the author, by taking Aristotle's definition of tragedy for his motto, fairly challenges the critick to examine and compare it by that test. His close adherence to the model of the Greek tragedy is in nothing more conspicuous than in the simplicity of his diction; in this particular he has curbed his fancy with so tight a hand, that, knowing as we do the fertile vein of his genius, we cannot but lament the fidelity of his imitation; for there is a harshness in the metre of his Chorus, which to

\* From Mr. Cumberland's *Observer*, vol. iv. No. 111.



a certain degree seems to border upon pedantry and affectation; he premises that *the measure is indeed of all sorts*, but I must take leave to observe that in some places it is no measure at all, or such at least as the ear will not patiently endure, nor which any recitation can make harmonious. By casting out of his composition the strophe and anti-strophe, those stanzas which the Greeks appropriated to singing, or in one word by making his Chorus monostrophick, he has robbed it of that lyrick beauty, which he was capable of bestowing in the highest perfection; and why he should stop short in this particular, when he had otherwise gone so far in imitation, is not easy to guess; for surely it would have been quite as natural to suppose those stanzas, had he written any, might be sung, as that all the other parts, as the drama now stands with a Chorus of such irregular measure, might be recited or given in representation.

Now it is well known to every man conversant in the Greck theatre, how the Chorus, which in fact is the parent of the drama, came in process of improvement to be woven into the fable, and from being at first the whole grew in time to be only a part: The fable being simple, and the characters few, the striking part of the spectacle rested upon the singing and dancing of the interlude, if I may so call it, and to these the people were too long accustomed and too warmly attached, to allow of any reform for their exclusion; the tragick poet therefore never got rid of his Chorus, though the writers of the Middle Comedy contrived to diminish theirs, and probably their fable being of a more

lively character, their scenes were better able to stand without the support of musick and spectacle, than the mournful fable and more languid recitation of the tragedians. That the tragick authors laboured against the Chorus, will appear from their efforts to expel Bacchus and his Satyrs from the stage, in which they were long time opposed by the audience, and at last by certain ingenious expedients, which were a kind of compromise with the publick, effected their point: This in part was brought about by the introduction of a fuller scene and a more active fable, but the Chorus with its accompaniments kept its place; and the poet, who seldom ventured upon introducing more than three speakers on the scene at the same time, qualified the sterility of his business by giving to the Chorus a share of the dialogue, who, at the same time that they furnished the stage with numbers, were not counted amongst the speaking characters according to the rigour of the usage above-mentioned. A man must be an enthusiast for antiquity, who can find charms in the dialogue-part of a Greek chorus, and reconcile himself to their unnatural and chilling interruptions of the action and pathos of the scene: I am fully persuaded they came there upon motives of expediency only, and kept their post upon the plea of long possession, and the attractions of spectacle and musick: In short, nature was sacrificed to the display of art, and the heart gave up its feelings that the ear and eye might be gratified.

When Milton therefore takes the Chorus into his dialogue, excluding from his drama the lyrick strophe and antistrophe, he rejects what I conceive

to be its only recommendation, and which an elegant contemporary in his imitations of the Greek tragedy is more properly attentive to; at the same time it cannot be denied that Milton's Chorus subscribes more to the dialogues, and harmonizes better with the business of the scene, than that of any Greek tragedy we can now refer to.

I would now proceed to a review of the performance itself, if it were not a discussion, which the author of *The Rambler* has very ably prevented me in; respect however to an authority so high in criticism must not prevent me from observing, that, when he says—*This is the tragedy which ignorance has admired and bigotry applauded*, he makes it meritorious in any future critick to attempt at following him over the ground he has trod, for the purpose of discovering what those blemishes are, which he has found out by superiour sagacity, and which others have so palpably overlooked, as to merit the disgraceful character of *ignorance and bigotry*.

The principal, and in effect the only, objection, which he states, is that *the poem wants a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson*. This demands examination: The death of Samson I need not describe: it is a sudden, momentary, event; what can hasten or delay it, but the will of the person, who by an exertion of miraculous strength was to bury himself under the ruins of a structure, in which his enemies were assembled? To determine that will, depends upon the impulse of his own spirit, or it may be upon the inspiration of

**Heaven:** If there be any incidents in the body of the drama, which lead to this determination, and indicate an impulse, either natural or preternatural, such must be called leading incidents; and those leading incidents will constitute a middle, or, in more diffuse terms, the middle business of the drama. Manoah in his interview with Samson, which the author of the Rambler denominates the second act of the tragedy, tells him

- “ This day the Philistines a popular feast
- “ Here celebrate in Gaza, and proclaim
- “ Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud,
- “ To Dagon, as their God —”

Here is information of a meeting of his enemies to celebrate their idolatrous triumphs; an incident of just provocation to the servant of the living God, an opportunity perhaps for vengeance, either human or divine; if it passes without notice from Samson, it is not to be styled an incident; if, on the contrary, he remarks upon it, it must be one—but Samson replies,

- “ Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
- “ Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him
- “ Of all these boasted trophies won on me,
- “ And with confusion blank his worshippers.”

Who will say the expectation is not here prepared for some catastrophe, we know not what, but awful it must be, for it is Samson which denounces the downfall of the idol, it is God who inspires the denunciation; the crisis is important, for it is that which shall decide whether God or Dagon is to triumph, it is in the strongest sense of the expression

—*dignus vindice nodus*—and therefore we may boldly pronounce *Deus interfuit*!

That this interpretation meets the sense of the author, is clear from the remark of Manoah, who is made to say that *he receives these words as a prophecy*. Prophetick they are, and were meant to be by the poet, who, in this use of his sacred prophecy, imitates the heathen oracles, on which several of their dramattick plots are constructed, as might be shown by obvious examples. The interview with Manoah then is conducive to the catastrophe, and the drama is not in this scene devoid of incident.

Dalila next appears, and, if whatever tends to raise our interest in the leading character of the tragedy cannot rightly be called episodical, the introduction of this person ought not to be accounted such; for who but this person is the cause and origin of all the pathos and distress of the story? The dialogue of this scene is moral, affecting, and sublime; it is also strictly characteristick.

The next scene exhibits the tremendous giant Harapha, and the contrast thereby produced is amongst the beauties of the poem, and may of itself be termed an important incident: That it leads to the catastrophe I think will not be disputed, and, if it is asked in what manner, the Chorus will supply us with an answer —

“ He will directly to the Lords I fear,

“ And with malicious counsel stir them up

“ Some way or other further to afflict thee.”

Here is another prediction connected with the plot, and verified by its catastrophe; for Samson is commanded to come to the festival and entertain the

of illustration) *I mean that, which hath beginning, middle, and end.* This and no more is what he says upon beginning, middle, and end; and this, which the author of the Rambler conceives to be a rule for tragedy, turns out to be merely an explanation of the word *whole*, which is only one term amongst many employed by the critick in his professed and complete definition of tragedy. I should add that Aristotle gives a further explanation of the terms, beginning, middle, and end, which the author of the Rambler hath turned into English, but in so doing he hath inexcusably turned them out of their original sense as well as language; as any curious critick may be convinced of, who compares them with Aristotle's words in the eighth chapter of the *Poeticks*.

Of the poetick diction of the *Samson Agonistes* I have already spoken in general; to particularize passages of striking beauty would draw me into too great length; at the same time, not to pass over so pleasing a part of my undertaking in absolute silence, I will give the following reply of Samson to the Chorus:

- " Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd
- " Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure
- " With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
- " I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying
- " Thirst, and refresh'd; nor envied them the grape,
- " Whose heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes."

Of the character I may say in few words, that Samson possesses all the terrific majesty of *Prometheus chained*, the mysterious distress of *Œdipus*, and the pitiable wretchedness of *Philoctetes*. His

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properties, like those of the first, are something above human ; his misfortunes, like those of the second, are derivable from the pleasure of Heaven, and involved in oracles ; his condition, like that of the last, is the most abject, which human nature can be reduced to from a state of dignity and splendour.

Of the catastrophe there remains only to remark, that it is of unparalleled majesty and terrour.

CUMBERLAND.



## THE ARGUMENT.

\* *Samson, made captive, blind, and now in the prison at Gaza, there to labour as in a common work-*

\* *Samson, made captive, blind, &c.*] Mr. Upton is the first critick who has observed, what yet is obvious, that in this tragedy Samson “imprisoned and blind, and the captive state of Israel, livelily represent our blind poet with the republican party, after the Restoration, afflicted and persecuted.” See his *Crit. Observ. on Shakspeare*, 1748, p. 144. I must add, that Milton, who artfully envelopes much of his own history and of the times in this drama, had long before used the character and situation of Samson for a temporary allegory in *The Reason of Church Government*, B. ii. Conclusion. He supposes Samson to be a king, who, being disciplined in temperance, grows perfect in strength, his illustrious and sunny locks being the Laws. While these are undiminished and unshorn, with the jaw-bone of an ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, he defeats thousands of his adversaries. But, reclining his head on the lap of flattering prelates, while he sleeps, they cut off those bright tresses of his Laws and Prerogatives, once his ornament and defence, delivering him over to violent and oppressive counsellors; who, like the Philistines, extinguish the eyes of his natural discernment, forcing him to grind in the prison-house of their insidious designs against his power. “Till he, knowing this prelatical razor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of Law and Right; and they, sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself.”

T. WARTON.

The younger Richardson, in his manuscript observations on this tragedy, has noticed the allusions of the poet to the history of himself and of his own days. “This poem,” he remarks, “was written when the Saints were oppressed, and in little appearance of ever seeing their own times again. Therefore THE

## THE ARGUMENT.

*house, on a festival day, in the general cessation from labour, comes forth into the open air, to a place nigh, somewhat retired, there to sit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who seek to comfort him what they can; then by his old father Manoah, who endeavours the like, and withal tells him his purpose to procure his liberty by ransom; lastly, that this feast was proclaimed by the Philistines as a day of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the hands of Samson, which yet more troubles him. Manoah then departs to prosecute his endeavour with the Philistine lords for Samson's redemption; who in the mean while is visited by other persons; and lastly by a publick officer to require his coming to the feast before the lords and people, to play or show his strength in their presence; he at first refuses, dismissing the publick officer with absolute denial to come; at length, persuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the second time with great threatenings to fetch him: The Chorus yet remaining on the place, Manoah returns full of joyful hope, to procure ere long his son's deliverance: in the*

CONCLUSION is with a view to comfort them, as well as himself, by so great an example of Providence, *Aye watching o'er his Saints with eye unseene*, as he writes on the glass window at Chalfont. This Milton loves to allude to in all his writings, and is the great moral of this tragedy; as Mr. Pope observed to me. And, considering this point further some days afterwards, I am persuaded Milton must have a view to himself in Samson." TOWN.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*midst of which discourse an Hebrew comes in haste, confusedly at first, and afterward more distinctly, relating the catastrophe, what Samson had done to the Philistines, and by accident to himself; wherewith the tragedy ends.*

## SAMSON AGONISTES \*

*Samson*, [Attendant leading him.]

A Little onward lend thy guiding hand  
To these dark steps, a little further on ;

\* *Samson Agonistes*] That is, *Samson an actor* ; *Samson*, being represented in a play. *Ἀγωνιστής*, ludio, histrio, actor scenicus. NEWTON.

*Ἀγωνιστής* is here rather *athleta*. The subject of the drama is *Samson* brought forth to exhibit his athletic powers. See ver. 1314. That such was Milton's intended sense of *Agonistes*, may further be collected from his use of the word *antagonist*, ver. 1628. Besides, as Milton entitled his *Samson* a tragedy, he certainly never adjoined the word *Agonistes* to signify *Samson represented in a play*. But this distinguishing title of *Agonistes* is, in fact, applied in conformity to the ancient usage of the tragick poets, who often, in the titles of their pieces, limited their hero to the immediate situation in which they found him. Among the remaining tragedies of *Æschylus* we have the ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ, *Prometheus CHAINED, in a state of punishment* ; which title of ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ was intended to distinguish it from a preceding drama, on the subject of his offence, entitled ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΣ ; and from a subsequent one, ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΛΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ, which completed the subject in representing his release. The ancients had very commonly a series of plays on the progressive parts of the same subject. Milton had also designed a previous part of *Samson's* story as a tragedy, under the title of *Samson ὑπερσφορος* or Ὑπερσφης, *Samson after his first marriage revenging himself on the Philistines*. So that *Agonistes*, when first adopted by Milton as a title, was most probably meant to distinguish it from the preceding drama on a previous part of *Samson's* story. DUNSTER.

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For yonder bank hath choice of sun or shade :  
 There I am wont to sit, when any chance  
 Relieves me from my task of servile toil, 5  
 Daily in the common prison else enjoin'd me,  
 Where I, a prisoner chain'd, scarce freely draw  
 The air imprison'd also, close and damp,  
 Unwholesome draught : but here I feel amends,  
 The breath of Heaven fresh blowing, pure and  
     sweet, 10  
 With day-spring born ; here leave me to respire.—  
 'This day a solemn feast the people hold

if credit could be given to Lauder, who pretends that Ziegler wrote a tragedy, with this characteristick title, printed at Augsburg, in 1547. I find Ziegler's tragedy of *Samson*, published indeed in the first volume of *Dramata Sacra*, Aug. 1547, but not with the title of *Agonistes*, nor even with a single admission of the word into it! TODD.

Ver. 1. *A little onward &c.*] Milton, after the example of the Greek tragedians, whom he professes to imitate, opens his drama with introducing one of its principal personages explaining the story upon which it is founded. THYER.

Ibid. *A little onward lend thy guiding hand*  
*To these dark steps,*] So Tiresias in Euripides, *Phænissæ*, ver. 841.

Ἥγῃ πάροισι, θύγατερ, ὡς ΤΥΦΛΩ ΠΟΔΙ κ. τ. λ.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 3. *For yonder bank*] The scene of this tragedy is much the same as that of *Οἰδίπυς ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ* in Sophocles, where blind Oedipus is conducted in like manner, and represented sitting upon a little hill near Athens : but yet I think there is scarcely a single thought the same in the two pieces, and I am sure the Greek tragedy can have no pretence to be esteemed better, but only because it is two thousand years older. NEWTON.

To Dagon their sea-idol, and forbid  
 Laborious works ; unwillingly this rest 14  
 Their superstition yields me ; hence with leave  
 Retiring from the popular noise, I seek  
 This unfrequented place to find some ease,  
 Ease to the body some, none to the mind  
 From restless thoughts, that, like a deadly swarm  
 Of hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone, 20  
 But rush upon me thronging, and present  
 Times past, what once I was, and what am now.

Ver. 13. *To Dagon their sea-idol,*] Milton, as doctor Newton observes, both here and in the *Paradise Lost*, follows the opinion of those, who describe this idol as part man, part fish, B. i. 462. Some also describe the idol as part woman, and part fish :

“ Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne,”

according to Calmet ; but see Selden on this subject, and particularly the elaborate account of Dagon in the *Curiositates Inaudite* Jacobi Gassiarelli, Hamb. 1676, p. 46—57, Notæ ; to which a representation of the idol is prefixed. TODD.

Ver. 19. *From restless thoughts, that, like a deadly swarm  
 Of hornets arm'd, &c.*] Compare ver. 623. And such also is the exclamation of Macbeth, A. iii. S. ii. “ O, full of scorpions is my mind !” But Milton’s whole expression resembles a passage in Sidney’s *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 164. “ A new swarm of thoughts stinging her mind.” See also Poems at the end of Shakspeare’s Poems, 12mo. Printed by T. Cotes. “ An allegorical allusion of melancholy thoughts to bees.

“ Come, you swarms of thoughts, and bring

“ To this crazie hive of mine,

“ Not your honey, but your sting ;

“ Naked I my heart resigne.” TODD.

Ver. 22. ———— *what once I was, and what am now.*] As in *Par. Lost*, Book iv. 23.

Made of my enemies the scorn and gaze ;  
 To grind in brazen fetters under task 35  
 With this Heaven-gifted strength ? O glorious  
     strength,  
 Put to the labour of a beast, debas'd  
 Lower than bond-slave ! Promise was that I  
 Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver ; 39  
 Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him  
 Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves,  
 Himself in bonds under Philistian yoke :  
 Yet say, let me not rashly call in doubt  
 Divine prediction ; what if all foretold 44  
 Had been fulfill'd but through mine own default,  
 Whom have I to complain of but myself ?  
 Who this high gift of strength committed to me,  
 In what part lodg'd, how easily bereft me,  
 Under the seal of silence could not keep,  
 But weakly to a woman must reveal it, 50  
 O'ercome with importunity and tears.  
 O impotence of mind, in body strong !  
 But what is strength without a double share  
 Of wisdom ? vast, unwieldy, burdensome,

Ver. 40. *Ask for this great deliverer now, &c.*] This may be considered as political, referring to the prospects there were, not long before, of the republican party overturning monarchy; and to that lately victorious party being now completely itself overcome, and subject to the yoke which it had once apparently removed and trampled on. DUNSTER.

Ver. 53. *But what is strength without a double share  
 Of wisdom ? &c.*] Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 363.



Made of my enemies the scorn and gaze ;  
 To grind in brazen fetters under task 35  
 With this Heaven-gifted strength ? O glorious  
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Put to the labour of a beast, debas'd  
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Ver. 53. *But what is strength without a double share  
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Proudly secure, yet liable to fall 55  
 By weakest subtleties, not made to rule,  
 But to subserve where wisdom bears command !  
 God, when he gave me strength, to show withal  
 How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.  
 But peace, I must not quarrel with the will 60  
 Of highest dispensation, which herein  
 Haply had ends above my reach to know :  
 Suffices that to me strength is my bane,  
 And proves the source of all my miseries ;  
 So many, and so huge, that each apart 65  
 Would ask a life to wail ; but chief of all,  
 O loss of sight, of thee I most complain !

“ Tu vires sine mente geris——

————— “ tu tantum corpore prodes,

“ Nos animo ; quantòque ratem qui temperat &c.”

JORTIN.

And Horace, *Od.* III. iv. 65.

“ Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua.” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 55. *Proudly secure, yet liable to fall*

*By weakest subtleties,]* Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 1099.

Ἄλλ' ἄνδρα χρεὶν, καὶ σῶμα γενήσῃ μέγα,

Δοκεῖν πεισεῖν ἄν, καὶ ἀπὸ σμικρῆ κακῆ. TODD.

Ver. 58. ————— *to show withal*

*How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.]* In the character of Samson, as delineated in “ Patriarchæ, five Christi Servatoris Genealogia per Mundi Ætates traducta, 12mo. Lond. 1657,” the same remark occurs :

“ At Martius ille spiritus capillis illigatur ;

“ Ut scias, quàm caducum sit donum juvenile robur,

“ Cùm tenui admodum de filo pendeat.” TODD.

Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,  
 Dungeon, or beggery, or decrepit age !  
 Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct,  
 And all her various objects of delight 71  
 Annull'd, which might in part my grief have eas'd,  
 Inferiour to the vilest now become  
 Of man or worm ; the vilest here excel me ;  
 They creep, yet see ; I, dark in light, expos'd 75  
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,

Ver. 68. *Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,  
 Dungeon, or beggery, or decrepit age !*] Milton, in  
 a letter to Oldenburgh, dated Jul. 6. 1654, speaking of some  
 intended work, says, “*liquidem per valetudinem et hanc lumi-  
 num orbitatem omni senectute graviores licuerit, &c.*” As in the  
 text before us, where Calton proposes to read “*beggery in de-  
 crepit age.*” But the Latin passage ascertains Milton's idea, and  
 proves the present reading to be right. To say nothing, that  
 the alteration weakens the context ; the force of which consists  
 in an abrupt accumulation of things detached. *Beggery* there-  
 fore and *age* should not be blended. T. WARTON.

Ver. 69. ————— *or decrepit age !*] So it is printed  
 in the first edition ; the latter editors have omitted *or*, con-  
 cluding I suppose that it made the verse a syllable too long.

NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 reads exactly the same as Milton's  
 own edition. TODD.

Ver. 75. ————— *I, dark in light, expos'd  
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,  
 Within doors, or without, still as a fool,  
 In power of others, never in my own ;*

*Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.]* In  
 these lines the poet seems to paint himself. The litigation of  
 his will produced a collection of evidence relating to the testator,  
 which renders the discovery of those long-forgotten papers pecu-  
 liarly interesting : they show very forcibly, and in new points

Within doors, or without, still as a fool,  
 In power of others, never in my own;  
 Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.  
 O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon, 80  
 Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse

of view, his domestick infelicity, and his amiable disposition. The tender and sublime poet, whose sensibility and sufferings were so great, appears to have been almost as unfortunate in his daughters as the Lear of Shakspeare. A servant declares in evidence, that her deceased master, a little before his last marriage, had lamented to her the ingratitude and cruelty of his children. He complained that they combined to defraud him in the economy of his house, and sold several of his books in the basest manner. His feelings on such an outrage, both as a parent and a scholar, must have been singularly painful; perhaps they suggested to him these very pathetick lines. HAYLEY.

As it appears, from the latest discoveries relating to the domestick life of Milton, that his wife was particularly attentive to him, and treated his infirmities with much tenderness, this passage seems to restrict the time when this drama was written to a period previous to his last marriage, or at least nearly to that immediate time, while the singular ill treatment of his daughters was fresh in his memory. This also coincides with what Mr. Hayley has observed respecting its being written immediately after the execution of Sir Henry Vane, which took place June 14, 1662. Milton was then in his fifty-fourth year, in which we are told he married his third wife. This would make the *Agonistes* at least three years anterior to the *Paradise Regained*, of which we know he had not thought previous to the Summer of 1665; when, on account of the plague raging in London, he retired to Chalfont, where an accidental expression of Elwood, on returning him the copy of *Paradise Lost*, laid the foundation of the second poem. DUNSTER.

Ver. 80. *O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,*  
*Irrecoverably dark,]* This is far more pathetick  
 than the exclamation of Oedipus, which the poet perhaps had  
 now in mind. *Oed. Tur.* v. 1337.

Without all hope of day !  
 O first created Beam, and thou great Word,  
 “ Let there be light, and light was over all ;”  
 Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree ? 85  
 The sun to me is dark  
 And silent as the moon,  
 When she deserts the night,  
 Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.  
 Since light so necessary is to life, 90  
 And almost life itself, if it be true  
 That light is in the foul,  
 She all in every part ; why was the fight  
 To such a tender ball as the eye confin'd,  
 So obvious and so easy to be quench'd ? 95

Ἰὼ σκότει νέφος ἑμὸν  
 Ἀπότροπον, ἐπιπλόμενον,  
 Ἄφατον, ἀδάμαστον τε,  
 Καὶ δυσούρσιον. TODD.

Ver. 87. *And silent as the moon.*] *Silens luna* is the moon at or near the change, and in conjunction with the sun. Plin. i. Lib. xvi. cap. 39. The interlunar cave is here called *vacant*, “ quia luna ibi vacat opere et ministerio suo,” because the moon is idle, and useless, and makes no return of light.

MEADOWCOURT.

Dante expresses the absence of the sun in the same manner as Milton describes that of the moon, *Inferno*, c. i.

“ Mi ripingeva là, dove 'l sol tace.”

See also the *Inferno*, c. v.

“ I' venni in luogo d' ogni luce muto.”

Catullus has the expression, “ *cùm tacet nox*,” VII. 7. But Seneca seems also to have been in Milton's eye, *Hippolyt.* 308.

“ *Arfit obscuri dea clara mundi*

“ *Nocte deserta.*” TODD.

And not, as feeling, through all parts diffus'd,  
 That she might look at will through every pore?  
 Then had I not been thus exil'd from light,  
 As in the land of darkness, yet in light,  
 To live a life half dead, a living death, 100  
 And buried; but, O yet more miserable!

Ver. 100. *To live a life half dead, a living death,*] This phrase, *a living death*, which the poet also uses in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 788, appears to have been very common amongst our elder poets. Thus, in Sackville's *Induction*, of Sleep personified,

————— “ as a *living death*,

“ So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath.”

Again, in Drummond's *Poems*, part 2d. Edinb. 1616.

“ O woefull Life! Life? No, but *living death*.”

Again, in *Wily Beguiled*, 1623.

“ My heart's wo makes this life a *living death*.”

Again, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Progress*, A. v. S. i.

“ A life? I style it false; a *living death*.”

Shakspeare applies it to the power of a lady's eyes, *Rich. III.* A. i. S. ii.

————— “ they kill me with a *living death*.”

So does Sylvester, *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 613.

“ Whose euery glance darts me a *living death*.”

Daniel, in one of his *Sonnets*, applies it to Love;

“ If this be Love, to live a *living death*,

“ Then do I love.”

This conceit, used by others also, may have been adopted from the Italian; as Petrarch thus speaks of Love, *Sonct.* 102, parte prima.

“ O *viva morte*, o dilettofo male.”

Among the modern poets, I find Pope in his *Rape of the Lock*, and Moore in his twelfth Fable, adopting the phrase before us. TODD.

Ver. 101. *And buried;*] In Donne's *Poems*, 1633, p. 9. is the same phrase, a “ *living buried man*.” TODD.

Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave ;  
 Buried; yet not exempt,  
 By privilege of death and burial,  
 From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs; 105  
 But made hereby obnoxious more  
 To all the miseries of life,  
 Life in captivity  
 Among inhuman foes.  
 But who are these? for with joint pace I hear  
 'The tread of many feet steering this way; 111  
 Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare

Ver. 102. *Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave;*] The expression, "*a living grave*," is in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352. The same phrase is in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621. p. 493. And in Sir Robert Howard's *Vestal Virgin*, 1665, is the phrase

—— "I seem nothing but a *walking grave*."

So, in Henry More's *Song of the Soul*, part iii. p. 33. edit. 1642.

"She surely deems him her *live-walking grave*." TODD.

Ver. 111. ————— steering *this way*;] If this be the right reading, the metaphor is extremely hard and abrupt. A common man would have said "*bearing this way*."

WARBURTON.

I believe *steering* is the right reading. So, in the *Ode on the Nativ.* ver. 146.

"With radiant *feet* the tissued clouds down *steering*."

The old writers use it simply for *moving*. Thus Chaucer, in *The Flower and the Leaf*:

"*Stering* so fast, that all the earth trembled." HURD.

The reading of *steering* is also confirmed by Milton's manuscript of *Comus*, ver. 310.

"Without sure *steerage* of well-practiz'd *feet*." TODD.

Ver. 112. *Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare*

*At my affliction,*] See the *Ajax* of Sophocles, v. 79.

At my affliction, and perhaps to insult,  
Their daily præctice to afflict me more.

[Enter] *Chorus.*

*Chor.* This, this is he ; softly a while, 115  
Let us not break in upon him :  
O change beyond report, thought, or belief !  
See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,

Οὐκ ἔν γέλωτος ἥδιος εἰς ἐχθρὰς γελᾷ.

Again, where Ajax himself is the speaker, v. 368.

Ω μοι γέλωτος, οἷον ἐβρίσθην ἄρα. TODD.

Ver. 115. ————— softly awhile,

*Let us not break in upon him :*] Thus, in the *Orestes* of Euripides, Eleëtra warns the Chorus to move softly for fear of waking her brother when asleep in the interval of his sufferings :

Ω φιλτάται γυναῖκες, ἤσυχῳ ποδί

ΧΩΡΕΙΤΕ τε, μὴ ψοφείτε, μὴδ' ἐς ὠκυπτος.

And thus the Chorus, when they approach :

Σιγα, σιγα, λεπτον ἰχνος ἀρβυλης

Τιθεῖτε, κ. τ. λ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 118. ————— carelessly diffus'd,] This beautiful application of the word *diffus'd* Milton has borrowed from the Latins. So Ovid *Ex Ponto*. III. iii. 7.

“ Publica me requies curarum somnus habebat,

“ *Fusâque* erant toto languida membra toro.” THYER.

*Diffus'd* may be also termed a *Grecism*. See Euripides, *Heraclid.* v. 75. edit. Barnes.

Ἰδετε τὸν γέροντα

Μᾶλλον ἐπὶ πῆδῳ

XYMENON.

Compare Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* i. vii. 7.

“ Yet goodly court he made still to his dame,

“ *Pour'd out* in loofness on the grassy ground.”



With languish'd head unpropt,  
 As one ~~past~~ hope, abandon'd, 120  
 And by himself given over;  
 In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds  
 O'er-worn and foil'd;  
 Or do my eyes misrepresent? Can this be he,  
 That heroick, that renown'd, 125  
 Irresistible Samson? whom unarm'd  
 No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast, could  
 withstand;  
 Who tore the lion, as the lion tears the kid;  
 Ran on embattled armies clad in iron;  
 And, weaponless himself, 130  
 Made arms ridiculous, useless the forgery *now*  
 Of brazen shield and spear, the hammer'd cuirass,  
 Chalybean temper'd Steel, and frock of mail

Again, *Faer. Qu. ii. v. 32.*

"There he him found all *carelessly displaid*  
 "In secret shadow &c." TODD.

Ver. 129. ——— clad in iron;] So, in Fairfax's  
*Tasso*, B. viii. st. 75.

"And Baldwin first well *clad in iron* hard."

See also Hor. *Od. IV. xiv.*

"Ut barbarorum Claudius *agmina*  
 "Ferrata vasto diruit impetu." TODD.

Ver. 130. ——— weaponless] We have in Spenser "a knight standing with empty hands all *weaponless*," *Faer. Qu. v. v. 14.* TODD.

Ver. 133. Chalybean *temper'd steel*,] That is, the best tempered steel by the *Chalybes*, who were famous among the ancients for their iron works. Virg. *Georg. i. 58.* "At Chalybes nudi ferrum." The adjective should be pronounced *Chalybéan* with the

Adamantéan proof?

But safest he who stood aloof, 135  
 When insupportably his foot advanc'd,  
 In scorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,  
 Spurn'd them to death by troops. The bold  
     Afcalonite  
 Fled from his lion ramp; old warriors turn'd

third syllable long according to Heinſius's reading of that verse of Ovid. *Faſt.* iv. 405.

“Æs erat in pretio: *Chalybeia* massa latebat:”

but Milton makes it short by the same poetical liberty, with which he had before used *Ægean* for *Ægean*, and *Thyestean* for *Thyestean*. NEWTON.

It is not necessary to suppose that Milton in this place meant the word to be read *Chalybean*. As he often cuts off or contracts the *y* in the middle of words, he might have given it *Chal'bean*. Or he might have justified the anapaest by Virgil's

“Fluviorum rex Eridanus—” DUNSTER.

Ver. 134. Adamantéan proof?] Dr. Johnson thinks the word *adamantean* peculiar to Milton. Perhaps he coined it from Ovid, *Met.* vii. 104.

“Ecce *adamanteis* Vulcanum naribus &c.” TODD.

Ver. 136. When insupportably his foot advanc'd,] For this nervous expression Milton was probably indebted to the following lines of Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. vii. 11.

“That when the knight he spied, he 'gan advance

“With huge force, and insupportable main.” THYER.

Ver. 138. ————— The bold Afcalonite]. The inhabitant of *Afcalon*, one of the five principal cities of the Philistines, mentioned I *Sam.* vi. 17. NEWTON.

Ver. 139. ————— his lion ramp;] His attack like that of a lion rampant. *Rampant* is an heraldick term. But see *Par. L.* B. vii. 466. And compare *Par. L.* B. iv. 343 &c. where the fiercest and largest animals “gambolled before Adam and Eve:”

Their plated backs under his heel ; 140  
Or, groveling, foil'd their crested helmets in the  
duft.

Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,  
The jaw of a dead afs, his fword of bone,  
A thoufand fore-fkins fell, the flower of Paleftine,  
In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day. 145

“ Sporting the lion RAMP'D, and in his paw

“ Dandled the kid :”

That is, he *gambolled*, ftanding on his two hind legs. Hence perhaps to *romp*, to *gambol*. But *ramp* is moft commonly ufed in a fenfe of rage and violence, as in the text. And in the *Pfalms* : “ A RAMPING and a *roaring* lion.” See Lye’s Jun. Etymolog. in V. And Spenser, F. Q. i. viii. 12. “ Came *ramping* forth, &c.” Sylvefter has the “ *ramping* (or fpreading) vine,” like our author’s “ *gadding* vine” in Lycidas, *Du Bart.* ed. 4to. p. 220. T. WARTON.

Ver. 139. ————— old warriors turn’d

*Their plated backs &c.*] The deeds of valorous knights were now in Milton’s mind. Artegall is thus defcribed, “ *like a lion,*”

“ Hewing and flafhing fhields and helmets bright,

“ And beating downe whatever nigh him came,

“ That every one ’gan fhun his dreadful fight,

“ No lefle than Death &c.” *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 41.

See a fimilar account of Marinell, *Faer. Qu.* v. iii. 8. Compare alfo *The Warres of Cyrus*, bl. l. 4to. 1594.

“ Is this the hand that plighted faith to me ?

“ The hand, that aye hath manag’d kingly armes,

“ And brought whole troops of mighty warriors down.”

As Samfon did, ver. 138. TODD.

Ver. 141. ————— crested helmets] “ *Galæa cristatæ* quæ speciem magnitudini corporum adderent.” Liv. ix. 40. And Ovid, *Met.* viii. 25. “ *Cristata casside.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day.*] Judges, xv. 17. “ He caft away the jaw-bone out of his hand, and

Then by main force pull'd up, and on his  
shoulders bore

The gates of Azza, post, and massy bar,  
Up to the hill by Hebron, seat of giants old,  
No journey of a Sabbath-day, and loaded so;  
Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heaven.  
Which shall I first bewail, 151

Thy bondage or lost sight,  
Prison within prison  
Inseparably dark?

Thou art become (O worst imprisonment!) 155  
The dungeon of thyself; thy soul,  
(Which men enjoying sight oft without cause  
complain)

Imprison'd now indeed,

called that place *Ramath-lechi*, that is, *the lifting up of the jaw-bone*, or *casting away of the jaw-bone*, as it is rendered in the margin of our Bibles. NEWTON.

Ver. 147. *The gates of Azza,*] Another name for *Gaza*. Sandys, speaking of this city, says, "*Gaza* or *Aza* signifieth *strong*: In the Persian language, *a treasury*." Travels, fol. 1615, p. 149. TODD.

Ver. 148. ————— *Hebron, seat of giants old,*] For Hebron was the city of *Arba*, the father of *Anak*, and the seat of the *Anakims*, *Josh.* xv. 13, 14. And the *Anakims* were giants, which come of the giants, *Numb.* xiii. 33. NEWTON.

Ver. 157. ————— *oft without cause complain*)] So Milton himself corrected it, but all the editions continue the old erratum *complain'd*. NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 corrected the error, before doctor Newton. TODD.

Ver. 158. *Imprison'd now indeed,*  
*In real darkness of the body dwells,*] Perhaps an

In real darkness of the body dwells,  
 Shut up from outward light 160  
 To incorporate with gloomy night ;  
 For inward light alas !  
 Puts forth no visual beam.  
 O mirror of our fickle state,  
 Since man on earth, unparallel'd ! 165  
 The rarer thy example stands,  
 By how much from the top of wondrous glory,  
 Strongest of mortal men,  
 To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fallen.  
 For him I reckon not in high estate 170

allusion to *Matt.* vi 23. "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness !" So, in *Comus*, "he, that hides a dark soul and foul thoughts,

" Benighted walks under the mid-day sun,

" Himself is his own dungeon." TODD.

Ver. 162. *For inward light alas !*

*Puts forth no visual beam.*] The expression is fine, and means the *ray of light*, which occasions *vision*. Pope has borrowed the expression in one of his juvenile poems,

" He from thick films shall purge the *visual ray*,

" And on the sightless eye-ball pour the day."

Either he mistook his original, and supposed Milton meant by *visual ray* the *sight*, or at least thought himself at liberty to use it in that highly figurative sense. See what is said on the passage in my edition of Pope's works. WARBURTON.

Ver. 164. *O mirror of our fickle state, &c.*] There is a fine resemblance in the remainder of these pathetick reflections to those of the Chorus, on the fate of *Œdipus Tyrannus*, in the play of that name by Sophocles, v. 1211.

ᾧ γινεῖται βροτῶν, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

Whom long descent of birth,  
 Or the sphere of fortune, raises ;  
 But thee whose strength, while virtue was her  
     mate,  
 Might have subdued the earth,  
 Universally crown'd with highest praises. 175

*Samf.* I hear the sound of words ; their sense  
     the air

Diffolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.

*Chor.* He speaks, let us draw nigh. Match-  
     less in might,

The glory late of Israel, now the grief ;

We come, thy friends and neighbours not un-  
     known, 180

From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,

Ver. 171. — long descent of birth,] *Juv. Sat. viii. 1.*

—————“ quid prodest, Pontice, longo

“ Sanguine ceneri ?” *TODD.*

Ver. 172. *Or the sphere of fortune,*] Fortune is painted on a globe, which by her influence is in a perpetual rotation on its axis. *WARBURTON.*

Ver. 178. *He speaks,*] We have followed Milton's own edition : Most of the others have it “ *He spake.*” *NEWTON.*

Ver. 179. *The glory late of Israel, now the grief ;*] The turn of the expression resembles the following in *P. Fletcher's Pifc. Eclogues*, 1633, p. 27.

“ The well known fisher-boy—

“ Which from the Muses' spring, and churlish Chame,

“ Was fled ; *his glory late, but now his shame.*” *TODD.*

Ver. 181. *From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,*] These were two towns of the tribe of Dan, *Josh. xix. 41* : the latter the birth-place of Samson, *Judg. xiii. 2* ; and they were near

To visit or bewail thee ; or, if better,  
 Counsel or consolation we may bring,  
 Salve to thy sores ; apt words have power to swage  
 The tumours of a troubled mind, 185  
 And are as balm to fester'd wounds.

*Samf.* Your coming, Friends, revives me ; for  
 I learn

one another. “ *And the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol.*” *Judg.* xiii. 25. And they were both situated in the valley, *Josh.* xv. 33 : and therefore the poet with great exactness says *Eshtaol* and *Zora's fruitful vale*. NEWTON.

Ver. 182. *To visit or bewail thee ;*] The poet dictated “ *To visit and bewail thee :*” The purpose of their visit was to bewail him ; or, if better, (that is if they found it more proper) to advise or comfort him. “ *Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere vellent, [See above ver. 112. to stare at my affliction] et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique cuperent.*” *Corn. Nepos in vita Eumenis.* CALTON.

Ver. 184. *Salve to thy sores ;*] This expression often occurs in our elder poetry. Thus in *The Testament of John Lydgate &c.* bl. l. no date, emprinted by Pynson :

“ Mekely with Davyd have mercy vpon me,  
 “ *Salue* all my soores that they nat cancred be.”

Again, in the *Paradise of Daintie Devises*, &c. fol. 31.

“ Of trobled mynds in euey fore, swete Musicke hathe a  
*fulue* in store.”

Again, in Harrington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607, B. xxv. ft. 36.

“ But nought could *fulue* that fore, nor swage her woes.”

Thus also in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 27. “ But no outward cherishing could *salve* the inward fore of her minde.” Spenser often uses the phrase. See *Facr. Qu.* iii. ii. 36, v. vii. 38, and particularly vi. vi. 5, “ Give *fulves* to every fore, but counsel to the mind.” TODD.

Now of my own experience, not by talk,  
 How counterfeit a coin they are who friends  
 Bear in their superscription, (of the most 190  
 I would be understood;) in prosperous days  
 They swarm, but in adverse withdraw their head,  
 Not to be found, though fought. Ye see, O  
 Friends,

How many evils have enclos'd me round; 194  
 Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,

Ver. 184. ————— *apt words have power to swage &c.*  
 Alluding to these lines in Æschylus, *Prom. Vinc't.* v. 377.

Οὐκ ἐν Προμηθεῦ τῷτο γινώσκεις, ὅτι  
 Ὀργῆς νοσήσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι.

Or to this passage in Menander.

Δόγῳ γὰρ ἐστὶ λυπῆς φαρμακὸν μόνον. THYER.

Or perhaps to Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 34.

"Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem

"Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem." NEWTON.

Rather to the figurative language of Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. x.  
 24, where Patience, to the "*soul-diseased* knight, applies relief  
 of felves and medicines,

"And thereto added *words of wondrous might*,

"By which to ease him he recured brief,

"And much *asswag'd* the passion of his plight."

See also *Faer. Qu.* ii. viii. 26. TODD.

Ver. 189. *How counterfeit a coin &c.*] The ground work of  
 this passage is perhaps the following in the *Mirror for Magistrates*:

"A golden treasure is the tried *friend*;

"But who may gold from *counterfeits* defend?"

Or in Shakspeare's *Two Gent. Veron.* A. v. S. 4. "Thou coun-  
*terfeit* to thy true *friend*!" DUNSTER.

Ver. 195. *Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,*]



Blindness ; for had I fight, confus'd with shame,  
 How could I once look up, or heave the head,  
 Who, like a foolish pilot, have shipwreck'd  
 My vessel trusted to me from above,

There is no inconsistency in this with what he had said before  
 ver. 66.

—————“ but chief of all,  
 “ O loss of sight, of thee I most complain.”

When he was by himself, he considered his blindness as the *worst* of evils ; but *now*, upon his friends coming in and seeing him in this wretched condition, it *least afflicts me*, says he ; as being some cover to his shame and confusion. NEWTON.

Ver. 198. *Who, like a foolish pilot, have shipwreck'd  
 My vessel &c.*] Dr. Johnson observes that “ metaphors sometimes find admission, where their consistency is not accurately preserved. “ Thus,” he adds, with a reference to this passage, “ Samson confounds loquacity with a shipwreck.” Surely this is not criticising very accurately. The fact is, Samson ascribes his own ruin, or *shipwreck*, to a very natural cause, his own indiscretion. The Greek writers use ΝΑΥΑΤΕΩ, *to suffer shipwreck*, in a metaphorical sense. It is particularly thus used by St. Paul for *shipwreck*, or the most fatal ruin, when caused immediately by misconduct: “ Holding faith and a good conscience ; which some having put away, concerning faith *have made shipwreck*,” ENAYATHEAN. In the *Table of Cebes*, it is said of foolish and wicked men, ΝΑΥΑΤΟΥΣΙΝ ἐν βίῳ, “ they *suffer shipwreck in life*.” Compare Spenser’s description of those who are wrecked on the rock of vile reproach ; and who,

—————“ Having all their substance spent  
 “ In wanton ioyes and lust intemperate,  
 “ Did afterwards *make shipwrack* violent  
 “ Both of their life and fame, &c.” F. Q. ii. xii. 7.

It may be observed also that St. James compares the tongue to the *helm of a ship*, Ch. iii. 4, and that Samson suffered all he had undergone in consequence of not duly governing his tongue. The metaphor then is so far also scriptural. DUNSTER.

Gloriously rigg'd ; and for a word, a tear, 200  
 Fool ! have divulg'd the secret gift of God  
 To a deceitful woman ? tell me, Friends,  
 Am I not fung and proverb'd for a fool  
 In every street ? do they not say, how well  
 Are come upon him his deserts ? yet why ? 203  
 Immeasurable strength they might behold  
 In me, of wisdom nothing more than mean ;  
 This with the other should, at least, have pair'd,  
 These two, proportion'd ill, drove me transverse.

*Chor.* Tax not divine disposal ; wisest men 210  
 Have err'd, and by bad women been deceiv'd ;

Ver. 203. *Am I not fung and proverb'd for a fool &c.*] “ And now I am their *song*, yea I am their *by-word*,” Job, xxx. 9. See also *Psalms* lxix. 11, 12. *Proverb'd*, Mr. Dunster remarks, is a verb used by Shakspeare, but not in the sense given it by Milton, *Rom. & Jul.* A. i. S. 3. “ For I am *proverb'd* with a grandfire’s saying ;” where to be *proverb'd*, is to be *provided with a proverb*. Sylvester, he adds, uses *proverbiz’d* in Milton’s sense, speaking of Xenophon, *Du Bart.* 1621. p. 152.

“ He that, for his honey-steeped style,

“ Was *proverbiz’d* the attack muse.” TODD.

Ver. 210. ————— wisest men

*Have err’d, &c.*] He may allude to Solomon ; or to the following passage in *I Esdras* iv. 27. “ Many also have perished, have *erred* and sinned *for women*.” But the poet seems to have been fond of asserting, that *wisest* men have thus erred. Thus at v. 759.

“ The *wisest* and *best* men, full oft *beguil’d* &c.”

Again, v. 1034.

“ Whate’er it be to wisest men and *best* &c.”

And in his *Tetrachordon*, speaking of marriage-choices, he says  
 “ The *best* and *wisest* men, amidst the sincere and most cordial  
 designs of their hearts, *do daily err* in choosing.” TODD.

And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wife.  
 Deject not then so overmuch thyself,  
 Who hast of sorrow thy full load besides :  
 Yet truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder 215  
 Why thou should'st wed Philistian women rather  
 Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair,  
 At least of thy own nation, and as noble.

*Samf.* The first I saw at Timna, and she  
 pleas'd

Ver. 216. ————— *Philistian women rather*] So it is printed in Milton's own edition ; and *woman* is a mistake of the other editions ; for more than one are mentioned afterwards. *The first I saw at Timna*, ver. 219. *The next I took to wife*, ver. 227. NEWTON.

The error of *woman* had been before corrected in Tonson's edition of 1747. TODD.

Ver. 219. *The first I saw at Timna, and she pleas'd*  
*Me, not my parents, &c.*] None of the critics have observed that Milton here alludes to some of the particulars of his *first match*. See also notes on the Nuncupative Will of Milton. The Chorus had just before remarked,

—————“ I oft have heard men wonder  
 “ Why thou shouldst wed Philistian women rather  
 “ Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair.”

To say nothing of the dissatisfaction Milton's first wife had conceived at her husband's unsocial and philosophical system of life, so different from the convivial cheerfulness and plenty of her father's family, it is probable that the quarrel was owing to party, which also might operate mutually. But when Cromwell's faction proved victorious, her father, who had taken a very forward part in assisting the king during the siege of Oxford, finding his affairs falling into distress, for prudential reasons strove to bring about an agreement between the separated couple. And thus the reconciliation was interested ; nor was it effected but by her unsolicited and apparently humble submission.

Me, not my parents, that I fought to wed 220  
 The daughter of an infidel: They knew not  
 That what I motion'd was of God; I knew  
 From intimate impúlse, and therefore urg'd  
 The marriage on; that by occasion hence  
 I might begin Israel's deliverance, 225  
 The work to which I was divinely call'd.  
 She proving false, the next I took to wife

and after the most earnest intreaties which the husband for some time resisted. On the whole therefore we may suppose that not much real or uninterrupted cordiality followed. And I think it clear that Milton's own experience, in the course of this marriage, furnished the substance of the sentiments in another Speech of Samson, ver. 750. to v. 763. Phillips says that Milton was inclined to pardon his repudiated bride "partly from his own *generous* nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to *perseverance in anger and revenge*." T. WARTON.

Ver. 222. *That what I motion'd was of God;*] It was printed *mention'd*, which is sense indeed, but Milton himself in the table of Errata substituted *motion'd*, which is better; but the first error hath still prevailed in all the editions. NEWTON.

*Motion'd* is more poetical; and thus Adam to Eve, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 229.

"Well hast thou *motion'd*, well thy thoughts compar'd,

"How we might best fulfil the work &c."

And thus Ben Jonson, in his *For*, A. ii. S. vi.

—————"Sir, the thing

"(But that I would not seem to counsel you)

"I should have *motion'd* to you at the first."

Milton also uses the word in his treatise *Of Reformation &c.*; "O Thou that, &c. when we were quite breathlesse, of Thy free grace didst *motion* peace, &c." I observe likewise that *motion'd* is here the reading of an edition preceding that of doctor Newton, viz. Tonson's in 1747. TODD.

Ver. 226. ——— divinely] Lat. *divinitus*. RICHARDSON.

(O that I never had ! fond with too late,)  
 Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,  
 That specious monster, my accomplish'd snare.  
 I thought it lawful from my former act, 231  
 And the same end ; still watching to oppress  
 Israel's oppressours : of what now I suffer  
 She was not the prime cause, but I myself,  
 Who, vanquish'd with a peal of words, (O  
 weakness !)

235

Gave up my fort of silence to a woman.

*Chor.* In seeking just occasion to provoke  
 The Philistine, thy country's enemy,  
 Thou never wast remiss, I bear thee witness :  
 Yet Israël still serves with all his sons. 240

*Samf.* That fault I take not on me, but transfer

Ver. 230. *That specious monster,*] In the Latin sense of *speciosus*, handsome, captivating. The whole expression seems to refer to the Echidna of Hesiod. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *my accomplish'd snare.*] There seems to be a quibble in the use of this epithet. WARBURTON.

It rather appears to be irony, as in Euripid. *Medea* :

————— Σαυμασὸν δὲ σε

Ἐχω πόσιν καὶ πρὶν ἢ τάλαιν' ἐγώ. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 235. *Who, vanquish'd with a peal of words,*

*Gave up my fort &c.*] This allusion to modern artillery, in the mouth of Samson, may appear no less objectionable than his references to the Grecian mythology. But the truth is, the poet was now thinking of his beloved Shakspeare. See the note on v. 404, *Tongue-batteries*. TODD.

Ver. 241. *That fault &c.*] Milton certainly intended to reproach his countrymen indirectly, and as plainly as he dared, with the Restoration of Charles II, (which he accounted the

On Ifrael's governours and heads of tribes,  
 Who, feeing thofe great aëts which God had done  
 Singly by me againft their conquerours,  
 Acknowledg'd not, or not at all confider'd, 245  
 Deliverance offer'd : I on the other fide  
 Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds ;  
 The deeds themfelves, though mute, fpoke loud  
           the doer :

But they perfifted deaf, and would not feem 249  
 To count them things worth notice, till at length  
 Their lords the Philiftines with gather'd powers  
 Enter'd Judea seeking me, who then  
 Safe to the rock of Etham was retir'd ;  
 Not flying, but fore-casting in what place  
 To fet upon them, what advantag'd beft : 255  
 Mean while the men of Judah, to prevent  
 The harrafs of their land, befet me round ;  
 I willingly on ~~Some~~ conditions came

reftoration of flavery,) and with the execution of the Regicides. He purfues the fame fubject again v. 678 to v. 700. I wonder how the Licensers of thofe days let it pafs. JORTIN.

It is the more to be wondered at, as fome paffages in his *History of England*, containing indireët remarks on his country, were ftruck out by the Licenfer, in the fame year. They were afterwards printed in a quarto pamphlet, in 1681 ; and in the edition of his *Profe Works* in 1738 are admitted into their place in the third book of his *History*. TODD.

Ver. 247. *Us'd no ambition*] *Going about with ftudiousnefs and affectation to gain praife*, as Mr. Richardfon fays ; alluding to the origin of the word in Latin. NEWTON.

Ver. 253. *Safe to the rock of Etham &c.*] Judges xv. 8.

NEWTON.

Into their hands, and they as gladly yield me  
 To the uncircumcis'd a welcome prey, 260  
 Bound with two cords; but cords to me were  
 threads

Touch'd with the flame: on their whole host I flew  
 Unarm'd, and with a trivial weapon fell'd  
 Their choicest youth; they only liv'd who fled.  
 Had Judah that day join'd, or one whole tribe, 265  
 'They had by this possess'd the towers of Gath,  
 And lorded over them whom they now serve:  
 But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt,  
 And by their vices brought to servitude,  
 Than to love bondage more than liberty, 270  
 Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty;  
 And to despise, or envy, or suspect  
 Whom God hath of his special favour rais'd  
 As their deliverer? if he aught begin,

Ver. 268. *But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt, &c.*] Here Mr. Thyer has anticipated me, by observing that Milton is very uniform, as well as just, in his notions of liberty, always attributing the loss of it to vice and corruption of morals: but in this passage he very probably intended also a secret satire upon the English nation, which, according to his republican politicks, had, by restoring the king, chosen *bondage with ease* rather than *strenuous liberty*. And let me add, that the sentiment is very like that of Æmilius Lepidus the consul in his oration to the Roman people against Sulla, preserved among the fragments of Sallust—"Annuite legibus impositis; accipite otium cum servitio;"—but for myself—"potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio." NEWTON.

Ver. 274. ———— *if he aught begin,*  
*How frequent to desert him, &c.*] Is there any  
 allusion here to the last ineffectual efforts of the republican

How frequent to desert him, and at last 275  
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds?

*Chor.* Thy words to my remembrance bring  
How Succoth and the fort of Penue!l  
Their great deliverer contemn'd,  
The matchless Gideon, in pursuit 280  
Of Madian and her vanquish'd kings:  
And how ingrateful Ephraim  
Had dealt with Jephtha, who by argument,  
Not worse than by his shield and spear,  
Defended Israel from the Ammonite, 285  
Had not his prowess quell'd their pride  
In that fore battle, when so many died  
Without reprieve, adjudg'd to death,

General Lambert against Monk and the Restoration, when he was deserted by the people, and at last taken prisoner by his old partizan Ingoldsby? DUNSTER.

Ver. 278. *How Succoth and the fort of Penue!l &c.*] The men of Succoth, and of the tower of Penue!l, refused to give loaves of bread to Gideon and his three hundred men pursuing after Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian. See *Judg.* viii. 4—9. NEWTON.

Ver. 282. *And how ingrateful Ephraim &c.*] Jephthah subdued the children of Ammon; and he is said to have *defended Israel by argument not worse than by arms* on account of the message which he sent unto the king of the children of Ammon. *Judg.* xi. 15—27. For his victory over the Ammonites the Ephraimites envied and quarrelled with him; and threatened to burn his house with fire: but Jephthah and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, and took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites, and there slew those of them who could not rightly pronounce the word *Shibboleth*; and there fell at that time two and forty thousand of them. See *Judg.* xii. 1—6. NEWTON.



For want of well pronouncing Shibboleth.

*Samf.* Of such examples add me to the roll ;  
Me easily indeed mine may neglect, 291  
But God's propos'd deliverance not so.

*Chor.* Just are the ways of God,  
And justifiable to Men ;  
Unless there be, who think not God at all : 295  
If any be, they walk obscure ;  
For of such doctrine never was there school,  
But the heart of the fool,  
And no man therein doctor but himself. 299

Yet more there be, who doubt his ways not just,  
As to his own edicts found contradicting,  
Then give the reins to wandering thought,  
Regardless of his glory's diminution ;  
Till, by their own perplexities involv'd,  
They ravel more, still less resolv'd, 305  
But never find self-satisfying solution.

Ver. 298. *But the heart of the fool,*] Alluding to *Psal.* xiv. 1. And the sentiment is not very unlike that of a celebrated divine. "*The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God: and who but a fool would have said so?*" NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *And no man therein doctor but himself.*] There is something rather too quaint and fanciful in this conceit, and it appears the worse, as this speech of the Chorus is of so serious a nature, and filled with so many deep and solemn truths.

THYER,

Ver. 303. ————— *his glory's diminution* ;] This expression is strong, as anciently understood. *Cic. de Orat.* ii. 39. "*Majestatem pop. Rom. minueret*" is the same as "*crimen læsæ majestatis.*" And *Corn. Nepos, Agcs.* iv. "*Religionem minuire*" is "*violare.*" RICHARDSON.

As if they would confine the Interminable,  
 And tie him to his own prescript,  
 Who made our laws to bind us, not himself,  
 And hath full right to exempt 310  
 Whom so it pleases him by choice  
 From national obstriction, without taint  
 Of sin, or legal debt ;  
 For with his own laws he can best dispense.

He would not else, who never wanted means,  
 Nor in respect of the enemy just cause, 316  
 To set his people free,  
 Have prompted this heroick Nazarite,  
 Against his vow of strictest purity,  
 To seek in marriage that fallacious bride, 320  
 Unclean, unchaste.

Down, reason, then ; at least vain reasonings,  
 down ;  
 Though reason here aver,  
 That moral verdict quits her of unclean :

Ver. 307. ————— *the Interminable,*] Him, whom *no bound or limit* can confine ; a word finely expressing the immensity of God. Chaucer uses it for *boundless* : “ Eternite then is perfitte possession and all together of life *interminable*.” Boeth. lib. v. prof. vi. TODD.

Ver. 319. ————— *vow of strictest purity,*] Not a vow of celibacy, but of strictest purity from Mosaical and legal uncleanness. WARBURTON.

Ver. 324. *That moral verdict quits her of unclean :*] That is, By the law of nature a Philistine woman was not unclean, yet the law of Moses held her to be so. I don't know why the poet thought fit to make his hero scepticize on a point, as irreconcilable to reason, which may be very well accounted for by

Unchaste was subsequent, her stain not his. 325

But see here comes thy reverend Sire  
With careful step, locks white as down,  
Old Manoah: Advise

Forthwith how thou ought'st to receive him.

*Samf.* Ay me! another inward grief, awak'd  
With mention of that name, renews the assault. 331

[Enter] *Manoah.*

*Man.* Brethren and men of Dan, for such ye  
seem,

the best rules of human prudence and policy. The institution of Moses was to keep the Jewish people distinct and separate from the nations. This the lawgiver effected by a vast variety of means: one of which was to hold all other nations under a legal *impurity*; the best means of preventing intermarriages with them.

WARBURTON.

Ver. 326. ————— *reverend Sire*] An expression, repeated, ver. 1456; used also in *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 719; and brought from his *Lycidas*:

“ Next Camus, *reverend sire*, went footing slow.”

Thus also Cowley, *David's*, B. III. of the high priest:

“ Much more the *reverend sire* prepar'd to say.”

Pope, in his first *Moral Essay*, and Parnell, in his *Hermit*, have made use of this expression; which (it may be added) is of older poetical authority than that of Milton. Thus, in *A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupid's Cautels*, 4to. 1578. p. 15.

“ The *reuerend aged sires*

“ Obeye these lawlesse mates, &c.” TODD.

Ver. 330. *Ay me! another inward grief, awak'd*  
*With mention of that name, renews the assault.*] So Philoctetes, in the play of that name by Sophocles, to the Chorus, v. 1185.

Though in this uncouth place ; if old respect,  
 As I suppose, towards your once gloried friend,  
 My son, now captive, hither hath inform'd 335  
 Your younger feet, while mine cast back with age  
 Came lagging after ; say if he be here.

*Chor.* As signal now in low dejected state,  
 As erst in highest, behold him where he lies.

*Man.* O miserable change ! is this the man,  
 That invincible Samson, far renown'd, 341  
 The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength

Πάλιν πάλιν παλαιὸν

"Αλγὴ μ' ὑπέμεινας με

᾽Ωλωσε τῶν πρὶν ἐντόπων.

Ver. 333. *Though in this uncouth place ;*] So Browne, as Mr. Dunster also notices, *Britann. Pastorals*, B. i. S. 3. ed. 1616. "An uncouth place fit for an uncouth mind." See also my note on *L'Allegro*, ver. 5. TODD.

Ver. 336. ——— while mine cast back with age] This is very artfully and properly introduced, to account for the Chorus coming to Samson before Manoah ; for it is not to be supposed that any of his friends should be more concerned for his welfare, or more desirous to visit him than his father. NEWTON.

Ver. 340. *O miserable change ! &c.*] This speech of Manoah's is, in my opinion, very beautiful in its kind. The thoughts are exactly such as one may suppose would occur to the mind of the old man, and are expressed with an earnestness and impatience very well suited to that anguish of mind he must be in, at the sight of his son under such miserable afflicted circumstances. It is not at all unbecoming the pious grave character of Manoah, to represent him, as Milton does, even complaining and murmuring at this disposition of Heaven, in the first bitterness of his soul. Such sudden starts of infirmity are ascribed to some of the greatest personages in Scripture, and it is agreeable to that well known maxim, that religion may regulate, but can never eradicate, natural passions and affections. THYER.

Equivalent to Angels walk'd their streets,  
 None offering fight ; who single combatant  
 Duell'd their armies rank'd in proud array, 345  
 Himself an army, now unequal match  
 To save himself against a coward arm'd  
 At one spear's length. O ever-failing trust  
 In mortal strength ! and oh ! what not in man  
 Deceivable and vain ? Nay, what thing good 350  
 Pray'd for, but often proves our woe, our bane ?  
 I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness  
 In wedlock a reproach ; I gain'd a son,

Ver. 345. *Duell'd*] I have seen it asserted that the verb *duel* is of Milton's coinage. But it is of older authority. See Ritson's *Eng. Metr. Romances*, vol. iii. p. 297.

“ With the king of France *duelled* he.”

I may add that it was in use in Milton's own time, before this tragedy was printed. Thus in Baron's *Cyprian Academy*, 8vo. 1648, p. 23. “ We come not hither to debate, but to combat ; not to cavill, but to *duel*, &c.” And in J. Boden's *Alarime beat up in Sion*, &c. 4to. 1644, p. 13. “ Not that I would encourage any man to *duell* it, in his owne avengement, or for his private honour, &c.” TODD.

Ver. 352. *I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness*

*In wedlock a reproach ;*] Some lines from a fragment of Euripides may be introduced here. They are very beautiful, and not impertinent. See edit. Barnes, p. 443.

Γύναι, φίλον μὲν φέγγ' ἤλιος τόδε.  
 Καλὸν δὲ πόσις χεῦμα' ἰδεῖν εὐήμερον,  
 Γῆτ' ἥρινδ' θάλλουσα, πλάσιον θ' ὕδωρ  
 Πολλῶν τ' ἔπαινον ἐστὶ μοι λέξαι καλῶν.  
 Ἄλλ' ὅδ' ἐν ἔτῳ λαμπρὸν, οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλόν,  
 Ὡς τοῖς ἀπαισι, καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις,  
 Παίδων νεοφῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάτω. CALTON.

And such a son as all men hail'd me happy ;—  
 Who would be now a father in my stead ? 355  
 O wherefore did God grant me my request,  
 And as a blessing with such pomp adorn'd ?  
 Why are his gifts desirable, to tempt  
 Our earnest prayers, then, given with solemn hand  
 As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind ? 360

Ver. 354. *And such a son as &c.*] It is very hard that the editors of Milton have never taken the pains to correct the errors of the first edition, which he had himself corrected. This verse at first was printed imperfect, and it has been followed in all the editions,

“ Such a son as all men hail'd me happy.”

*And* was wanting in the beginning,

“ *And* such a son &c.

So Milton himself corrected it, and so Mr. Jortin and Mr. Symphon conjectured it should be read. And, at the time of writing this, in all probability the author remembered the happy father in Terence, *Andria* i. i. 69.

“ Cùm id mihi placebat, tum uno ore omnes omnia

“ Bona dicere, et laudare fortunas meas,

“ Qui gnatum haberem tali ingenio præditum.”

NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 had rectified the mistake, of which Dr. Newton afterwards complains. TODD.

Ver. 359. ———— *then, given with solemn hand*

*As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind ?*] He has raised this beautiful imagery on the following text, *Luke* xi. 12. “ If a son shall ask of his father an egg, will he offer him a scorpion ?” He was not always so happy. WARBURTON.

He has been peculiarly happy in the use of this imagery. Thus again, “ A most deadly and *scorpion-like* gift,” Prose-W. vol. i. p. 304. ed. 1698. Again, in his *Tetrachordon*: “ It is man's perverse cooking who hath turned this bounty of God into a *scorpion*.” Ibid. p. 335. TODD.

For this did the Angel twice descend? for this  
 Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a plant  
 Select, and sacred, glorious for a while,  
 The miracle of men; then in an hour  
 Ensnar'd, assaulted, overcome, led bound, 365  
 Thy foes' derision, captive, poor, and blind,  
 Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves?  
 Alas! methinks whom God hath chosen once  
 To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,  
 He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall 370  
 Subject him to so foul indignities,  
 Be it but for honour's sake of former deeds.

*Samf.* Appoint not heavenly disposition, Father;

Ver. 362. ————— as of a plant] This is a frequent scriptural metaphor. See *Isaiah* v. 7, liii. 2. Homer describes Thetis thus speaking of her son Achilles, *Il.* xviii. 57.

————— ὁ δ' ἀνδραμεν ἐρεΐ ισος,  
 Τον μὲν ἐγὼ δρεψασα ΦΥΤΤΟΝ ὥς, γούνη αλωπης.

Theocritus also speaks in similar language of Hercules, *Idyll.* xxiv. 101. DUNSTER.

Ver. 365. *Ensnar'd, assaulted, &c.*] The succession of participles renders the description more pathetick, as in ver 563.

“ Now blind, dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonour'd, quell'd.”

An example of similar effect occurs in the poet's description of the fallen angels, after their defeat, *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 851.

—————“ of their wonted vigour—drain'd,  
 “ *Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fallen.*” TODD.

Ver. 373. Appoint] That is, arraign, summon to answer.

WARBURTON.

Perhaps *limit*, or *direct*: or rather, according to an old acceptance of the word, *blame*, lay the fault upon. See Barret's *Alvearie*, 1580. *Appoynt*, col. 2. No. 497. TODD.

Nothing of all these evils hath befallen me  
 But justly ; I myself have brought them on, 375  
 Sole author I, sole cause : If aught seem vile,  
 As vile hath been my folly, who have profan'd  
 The mystery of God given me under pledge  
 Of vow, and have betray'd it to a woman,  
 A Canaanite, my faithless enemy. 380  
 This well I knew, nor was at all surpris'd,  
 But warn'd by oft experience : Did not she  
 Of Timon first betray me, and reveal  
 The secret wrested from me in her highth  
 Of nuptial love profess'd, carrying it straight 385  
 To them who had corrupted her, my spies,  
 And rivals ? In this other was there found  
 More faith, who also in her prime of love,  
 Spousal embraces, vitiated with gold,  
 Though offer'd only, by the scent conceiv'd 390  
 Her spurious first-born, treason against me ?  
 Thrice she assay'd with flattering prayers and sighs,  
 And amorous reproaches, to win from me  
 My capital secret, in what part my strength

Ver. 391. ———— *treason against me ?*] By our laws  
 called petty treason. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 392. *Thrice she assay'd &c.*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 619.

“ Thrice he assay'd &c.” T. WARTON.

Ver. 394. *My capital secret,*] I am afraid this is an intended  
 pun ; if so, it is a most indefensible expression ; and yet resem-  
 bling what is said, *Par. L.* B. xii. 383.

“ Needs must the serpent now his *capital* bruise

“ Expect with pain :” . . .



Lay stor'd, in what part summ'd, that she might  
know ;

395

Thrice I deluded her, and turn'd to sport  
Her importunity, each time perceiving  
How openly, and with what impudence  
She purpos'd to betray me, and (which was worse  
Than undissembled hate) with what contempt  
She fought to make me traitor to myself ;  
Yet the fourth time, when, mustering all her  
wiles,

With blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults,  
'Tongue-batteries, she furceas'd not, day nor night,

where the reference certainly is to the "seed of the woman bruising the head of the serpent." DUNSTER.

Ver. 401. *She fought*] So it is in Milton's own edition; in most of the others "*She thought*." NEWTON.

Ver. 402. ————— *mustering all her wiles,*] So, in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. edit. Amst. 1698. p. 196. "Like a crafty adulteress, she forgot not all her *smooth looks, and enticing words*." Josephus relates, that the attacks of Dalila were artfully made *παρὰ ῥητὸν καὶ τρυφὴν συνουσίαν*. TODD.

Ver. 403. *With blandish'd parlies,*] Dr. Johnson says he never met with this word before. It is common in our old writers. Thus in Chaucer, *Boethius* lib. ii. prof. prim. "For thou wert wont to hurtelen and dispisen her with many words, whan she was *blandishyng* and present &c." Again, in Lewis's *Hist. of Translations of the Bible*, p. 13. "In this psalme he spekith of Crist and his follewis *blandishyng* to us." So, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xiii. p. 220. edit. 1622. "And how she, *blandishing*, by Dunsmore drives along." TODD.

Ver. 404. *Tongue-batteries, &c.*] The phrase was probably suggested by Shakspeare, *K. Hen. VI.* P. i. A. iii. S. iii.

"I am *vanquish'd*; these haughty words of hers

"Have *batter'd* me like roaring cannon-shot, &c."

**To storm me over-watch'd, and wearied out,** 405  
**At times when men seek most repose and rest,**  
**I yielded, and unlock'd her all my heart,**  
**Who, with a grain of manhood well resolv'd,**  
**Might easily have shook off all her snares :**  
**But foul effeminacy held me yok'd** 410  
**Her bond-slave ; O indignity, O blot**  
**To honour and religion ! servile mind**  
**Rewarded well with servile punishment !**  
**The base degree to which I now am fallen,**  
**These rags, this grinding is not yet so base** 415  
**As was my former servitude, ignoble,**  
**Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,**

That this passage was in the poet's mind, may be further proved, I think, from ver. 235.

“ Who, *vanquish'd* with a peal of words,

“ Gave up my *fort*.”

Compare also the following passage in an old drama, entitled *The History of the tryall of Chivalry*, &c. f. d. 4to. Printed by Simon Stafford :

————— “ cares —

“ *Pearst with the volley of thy battring words.*”

The scriptural account is this. “ And it came to pass, when *she pressed him daily with her words*, and urged him so that his soul was vexed unto death, that *he told her all his heart*,” Judg. xvi. 16, 17. TODD.

Ver. 411. ———— *O indignity, O blot &c.*] Nothing could give the reader a better idea of a great and heroic spirit in the circumstances of Samson, than this sudden gust of indignation and passionate self-reproach upon the mentioning of his weakness. Besides, there is something vastly grand and noble in his reflection upon his present condition on this occasion,

“ *These rags, this grinding is not yet so base &c.*”

TYLER.

True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,  
That saw not how degenerately I serv'd.

*Man.* I cannot praise thy marriage-choices,

Son,

420

Rather approv'd them not; but thou didst plead  
Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st  
Find some occasion to infect our foes.

I state not that; this I am sure, our foes  
Found soon occasion thereby to make thee 425  
Their captive, and their triumph; thou the sooner  
Temptation found'st, or over-potent charms,  
To violate the sacred trust of silence

Deposited within thee; which to have kept  
Tacit, was in thy power: true; and thou bear'st  
Enough, and more, the burden of that fault; 431  
Bitterly hast thou paid, and still art paying,  
That rigid score. A worse thing yet remains;

This day the Philistines a popular feast  
Here celebrate in Gaza; and proclaim 435  
Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud,  
To Dagon, as their God who hath deliver'd  
Thee, Samson, bound and blind into their hands,  
Them out of thine, who slew'st them many a slain.

Ver. 434. *This day the Philistines a popular feast &c.] Judges*  
xvi. 23. "Then the lords of the Philistines gathered them  
together, for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their God, and  
to rejoice; for they said, *Our God hath delivered Samson our*  
*enemy into our hand, &c."* This incident the poet has finely im-  
proved, and with great judgement he has put this reproach of  
Samson into the mouth of his father, rather than any other of  
the dramatis personæ. NEWTON.

So Dagon shall be magnified, and God, 440  
 Besides whom is no God, compar'd with idols,  
 Disglorified, blasphem'd, and had in scorn  
 By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine ;  
 Which to have come to pass by means of thee,  
 Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest,  
 Of all reproach the most with shame that ever 446  
 Could have befallen thee and thy father's house.

*Samf.* Father, I do acknowledge and confess  
 That I this honour, I this pomp, have brought  
 To Dagon, and advanc'd his praises high 450  
 Among the Heathen round ; to God have brought  
 Dishonour, obloquy, and op'd the mouths  
 Of idolists, and atheists ; have brought scandal  
 To Israel, diffidence of God, and doubt  
 In feeble hearts, propense enough before 455  
 To waver, or fall off and join with idols ;  
 Which is my chief affliction, Shame and Sorrow,

Ver. 442. *Disglorified,*] That is, deprived of glory. So, in his *Arcopagitica*, Milton uses *disexercising* for *depriving of exercise* ; “ by *disexercising* and blunting our abilities in what we know already :” And, in the same tract, *disinured* for *deprived of practice* ; “ Thus much we are hindered and *disinured*, by this course of licencing, toward the true knowledge of what we seem to know.” Milton is fond of words thus compounded. We have *disallied*, in this drama, ver. 1022 ; *disespoused*, Par. L. B. ix. 17 ; *disconsenting*, Of Prelat. Episcopacy ; *disgospelling*, Apol. for Smeectymnuus ; *disworship*, Doct. and Discip. of Divorce ; *disalleige*, Observ. on the Art. of Peace between the E. of Ormond and the Irish. Todd.

Ver. 453. — *idolists,*] Milton uses the adjective *idolish*, in his *Reason of Ch. Gov.* B. 2. Conclusion. “ Their *idolish* temples.” And the substantive *idolism*, Par. Reg. B. iv. 234. Todd.

The anguish of my Soul, that suffers not  
 Mine eye to harbour sleep, or thoughts to rest.  
 This only hope relieves me, that the strife 460  
 With me hath end; all the contest is now  
 'Twixt God and Dagon; Dagon hath presum'd,  
 Me overthrown, to enter lists with God,  
 His deity comparing and preferring  
 Before the God of Abraham. He, be sure, 465  
 Will not connive, or linger, thus provok'd,  
 But will arise, and his great name assert:  
 Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive  
 Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him  
 Of all these boasted trophies won on me, 470  
 And with confusion blank his worshippers.

*Man.* With cause this hope relieves thee, and  
 these words

I as a prophecy receive; for God,  
 Nothing more certain, will not long defer  
 To vindicate the glory of his Name 475

Ver. 471. ————— blank *his worshippers*.] That is, *confound*. So, in *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. ii.

“ Each opposite that *blanks* the face of joy.”

Milton often uses the adjective *blank* also in the sense of *confounded*. Todd.

Ver. 472. ————— and *these words*

*I as a prophecy receive*;] This method of one person's taking an omen from the words of another, was frequently practised among the ancients; and in these words the downfall of Dagon's worshippers is artfully presignified, as the death of Samson is in other places; but Manoah, as it was natural, accepts the good omen, without thinking of the evil that is to follow. NEWTON.

Against all competition, nor will long  
 Endure it doubtful whether God be Lord,  
 Or Dagon. But for thee what shall be done?  
 Thou must not, in the mean while here forgot,  
 Lie in this miserable loathsome plight, 480  
 Neglected. I already have made way  
 To some Philistian lords, with whom to treat  
 About thy ransom: well they may by this  
 Have satisfied their utmost of revenge 484  
 By pains and slaveries, worse than death, inflicted  
 On thee, who now no more canst do them harm.

*Samf.* Spare that propofal, Father; spare the  
 trouble

Of that follicitation; let me here,  
 As I deserve, pay on my punishment;  
 And expiate, if poffible, my crime, 490  
 Shameful garrulity. 'To have reveal'd  
 Secrets of men, the fecrets of a friend,  
 How heinous had the fact been, how deferving  
 Contempt, and fcorn of all, to be excluded  
 All friendship, and avoided as a blab, 495  
 The mark of fool fet on his front? But I

Ver. 496. *The mark of fool fet on his front?*

*But I God's counfel have not kept, his holy fecret]*

So it is in almoft all the editions. Mr. Warton believes the Alexandrine verfe was not left fo by the author, and therefore reads, with Hawkey's Dublin edition of 1752,

" *The mark of fool fet on his front? But I*

" *God's counfel have not kept, his holy fecret*

" *Presumptuoufly have publifhed, &c."*

There was alfo an inftance in *Paradife Lofl* of a needlefs Alexandrine, and of the deficiency of a foot in the preceding verfe, which Tickell firft rectified. B. x. 989. TODD.

God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret  
 Presumptuously have publish'd, impiously,  
 Weakly at least, and shamefully ; a sin  
 That Gentiles in their parables condemn 500  
 To their abyfs and horrid pains confin'd.

*Man.* Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite;  
 But act not in thy own affliction, Son:  
 Repent the sin ; but, if the punishment

Ver. 500. *That Gentiles in their parables condemn &c.*] Alluding to the story of Tantalus, who for revealing the secrets of the Gods was condemned to pains in Hell. Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 16. "Poetæ impendere apud inferos faxum Tantalò faciunt ob scelera, animique impotentiam, et superbiloquentiam." Euripides assigns the same punishment, and for the same reason, *Orestes*, v. 8.

————— ὅτι θεοῖς ἀνθρωποῖς ὦν  
 Κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον,  
 Ἀκόλαστον ἔσχε γλώσσαν, αἰσχρίσθη νόσον.

Mr. Warburton's remark is that "the ancient mystagogues taught, that the Gods punished both the revealers, and the violators, of their mysteries. Milton had here in his eye that fine passage of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 617.

———— "fedet, aeternumque fedebit  
 "Infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes  
 "Admonet, &c." NEWTON.

The passage, cited by doctor Newton from the Tusculan Questions, does not explain the story of Tantalus as here referred to. Neither does the passage from Euripides, without its gloss from the Scholiast ; where indeed it is said that Tantalus was punished for revealing the mysteries of the gods, ἐξείπων τοῖς βροτοῖς τὰ θεῶν ἀπορρήτα, τὴντο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκόλαστον εἶχε γλῶσσαν. But the classical authority in Milton's mind I suppose to have been that of Ovid, who expressly ascribes the punishment of Tantalus to his shameful garrulity, which is said to be a grievous crime, *De Art. Amandi*, ii. 601, &c. DUNSTER.

Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids ; 503  
 Or the execution leave to high disposal,  
 And let another hand, not thine, exact  
 Thy penal forfeit from thyself: perhaps  
 God will relent, and quit thee all his debt ;  
 Who ever more approves, and more accepts, 510  
 (Best pleas'd with humble and filial submission,)

Him, who, imploring mercy, sues for life,  
 Than who, self-rigorous, chooses death as due ;  
 Which argues over-just, and self-displeas'd  
 For self-offence, more than for God offended. 515  
 Reject not then what offer'd means, who knows  
 But God hath set before us, to return thee  
 Home to thy country and his sacred house,  
 Where thou mayst bring thy offerings, to avert  
 His further ire, with prayers and vows renew'd.

*Samf.* His pardon I implore ; but as for life, 521  
 To what end should I seek it ? when in strength  
 All mortals I excell'd, and great in hopes  
 With youthful courage, and magnanimous  
 thoughts  
 Of birth from Heaven foretold, and high ex-  
 ploits, 525  
 Full of divine instinct, after some proof  
 Of acts indeed heroick, far beyond

Ver. 516. *Reject not then what offer'd means,*] That is, *those*  
*means which* who knows but God hath set before us : *what* for  
*those which*. The expression is a little hard, but to this effect :  
 “ Reject not these means of ransom, which, for any thing one  
 can tell, God may have set before us, or suggested to us, in  
 order to return thee &c.” HURD.



The sons of Anak, famous now and blaz'd,  
 Fearless of danger, like a petty God  
 I walk'd about admir'd of all and dreaded 530  
 On hostile ground, none daring my affront.  
 'Then swollen with pride into the snare I fell  
 Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,  
 Soften'd with pleasure and voluptuous life;  
 At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge 535  
 Of all my strength in the lascivious lap  
 Of a deceitful concubine, who shor'd me  
 Like a tame wether, all my precious fleece,  
 'Then turn'd me out ridiculous, despoil'd,  
 Shaven, and disarm'd among mine enemies. 540

*Chor.* Desire of wine and all delicious drinks,  
 Which many a famous warrior overturns,

Ver. 532. ————— *into the snare I fell*

*Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,]* See Fairfax's translation of Tasso, B. iv. 26. where Hedroart, sending Armida to seduce the Christian host, and, if possible, its leader, bids her

“ Frame *snare*s of looks, trains of alluring speech.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 535. *At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge*

*Of all my strength in the lascivious lap*

*Of a deceitful concubine,]* Compare Spenser, *Faerie*

*Qucene*, ii. vi. 14.

“ Thus when shee had his eyes and senses fed

“ *With false delights*, and fill'd with pleasures vayne.

“ Into a shady vale shee soft him led,

“ And layd him downe upon a grassy playn;—

“ She sett beside, *laying his head disarm'd*

“ *In her loose lap.*” TODD.

Thou couldst repress ; nor did the dancing ruby  
Sparkling, out-pour'd, the flavour, or the smell,  
Or taste that cheers the heart of Gods and Men,  
Allure thee from the cool crystalline stream. 546

*Samf.* Wherever fountain or fresh current  
flow'd

Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure

Ver. 543. ———— *the dancing ruby &c.*] Dr. Newton and Mr. Thyer remark, that the poet probably alludes to *Prov.* xxiii. 31. "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright." Milton has also "*rubied nectar*," *Par. Lost*, B. v. 633. And *dancing* he has transferred hither from his *Comus*, v. 673.

"And first, behold this cordial julep here,

"That flames and dances in his crystal bounds." TODD.

Ver. 545. *Or taste that cheers the heart of Gods and Men,*] *Judges*, ix. 13. "Wine which cheereth God and Man." Milton says *Gods*, which is a just paraphrase, meaning the hero-gods of the Heathen. Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, that ran a whoring after *Baalim* and made *Baal-berith* their God: A god sprung from among men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from diverse other circumstances of the story. Hesiod, in a similar expression, says that *the vengeance of the Fates pursued the crimes of Gods and Men*, *Theog.* v. 220.

Αἶψ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, κ. τ. λ. WARBURTON.

"*Gods and Men*" is the reading of Milton's own edition, and more agreeable to the text of Scripture than in the common editions "*Gods or Men*." NEWTON.

The edition of 1747 follows Milton's own edition. TODD.

Ver. 547. *Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd*

*Against the eastern ray, &c.*] This circumstance was very probably suggested to our author by the following lines of Tasso's poem *del Mondo creato*, Giornata iii. st. 8.

"O liquidi cristalli, onde s'estingua

"L'ardente sete a miseri mortali :

With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,  
 I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying 550  
 Thirst, and refresh'd : nor envied them the grape  
 Whose heads that turbulent liquour fills with  
 fumes.

*Chor.* O madness, to think use of strongest  
 wines

And strongest drinks our chief support of health,  
 When God with these forbidd'n made choice to  
 rear 555

His mighty champion, strong above compare,

“ Ma piu falubre è, se tra viue pietre  
 “ Rompendo l' argentate, e fredde corna,  
 “ Incontra il nuouo sol, che il puro argento  
 “ Co' raggi indora”—— THYER.

Mr. Geddes, in his learned and entertaining *Essay on the Composition &c. of Plato*, considers these lines of Milton as possessing much of the same spirit, though applied to another thing, with a passage in the philosopher's *Io*, p. 533, 534, tom. i. edit. Serran. where, speaking of the poets, he says “ As soon as they enter the winding mazes of harmony, they become lymphatic, and rove like the furious Bacchanals, who in their phrenzy draw honey and milk out of the rivers. The Poets tell us the same thing of themselves &c.” *Essay*, 1748, p. 184. TODD.

Ver. 549. *With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,*] This description of the first ray of light at the moment of sun-rise, is eminently bold and beautiful. We might trace it to Euripides, *Suppl.* 652.

Λαμπρα μεν ακτις ηλιος κανων σαφης  
 Εβαλλε γαιαν —

to which Dr. Hurd refers Milton's “ long-levell'd rule of streaming light,” *Com.* ver. 340. The *fiery rod* is perhaps more immediately the λαμπρα μεν ακτις ηλιος κανων σαφης, where κανων is *rod*, (*virga*,) as well as *rule*. DUNSTER.

Whose drink was only from the liquid brook.

*Samf.* But what avail'd this temperance, not  
complete;

Against another object more enticing?

What boots it at one gate to make defence, 560

And at another to let in the foe,

Effeminately vanquish'd? by which means,

Now blind, dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonour'd,  
quell'd,

To what can I be useful, wherein serve

My nation, and the work from Heaven impos'd,

But to sit idle on the household hearth, 566

A burdenous drone; to visitants a gaze,

Or pitied object, these redundant locks

Robustious to no purpose clustering down,

Vain monument of strength; till length of years

And sedentary numness craze my limbs 571

Ver. 557. *Whose drink &c.*] Samson was a Nazarite. *Judges*, xiii. 7; therefore to drink no wine, nor shave his head. See *Numb.* vi. *Amos*, ii. 12. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 566. *But to sit idle on the household hearth, &c.*] It is supposed, with probability enough, that Milton chose Samson for his subject, because he was fellow-sufferer with him in the loss of his eyes; however one may venture to say, that the similitude of their circumstances has enriched the poem with several very pathetick descriptions of the misery of blindness. TYLER.

Ver. 569. *Robustious*] An old word signifying *violent or forcible*, as in Drayton's *Barons Warres*, 1627, c. v. ft. 85.

“Cast from my seat in some *robustious* course.” TODD.

Ver. 571. ——— craze *my limbs*] He uses the word *craze* much in the same manner as in the *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 210. Where see the note. NEWTON.

To a contemptible old age obscure?  
 Here rather let me drudge, and earn my bread;  
 Till vermin, or the draff of fervile food,  
 Consume me, and oft-invoked death 575  
 Hasten the welcome end of all my pains.

*Man.* Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with  
 that gift

Which was expressly given thee to annoy them?  
 Better at home lie bed-rid, not only idle,  
 Inglorious, unemploy'd, with age outworn. 580  
 But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer  
 From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst to allay  
 After the brunt of battle, can as easy  
 Cause light again within thy eyes to spring, 584  
 Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast;

Ver. 574. ————— draff] *The refuse.* See *Par. L.*  
*B. x.* 630. Thus Chaucer, *Prol. to the Parsones Tale.*

“Why should I fowen *dras* out of my list,

“When I may fowen whete, if that me list?”

And Shakspeare, *1. Hen. IV. A. iv. S. 2.* “You would think  
 I had a hundred and fifty tatter’d prodigals, lately come from  
 swine-keeping, from eating *drass* and husks.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 575. ————— *oft-invoked death*] Some editions  
 read “*oft-invoked death* ;” which destroys the metre. TODD.

Ver. 581. *But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer*  
*From the dry ground to spring, &c.]* See *Judges*  
*xv. 18, 19.* But Milton differs from our translation of the  
 Bible. The translation says, that *God clave an hollow place that*  
*was in the jaw*: Milton says, that *God caus'd a fountain from*  
*the dry ground to spring*, and herein he follows the Chaldee para-  
 phrast and the best commentators, who understand it that God  
 made a cleft in some part of the ground or rock, in the place  
 called Lehi; *Lehi* signifying both a jaw, and a place so called.

NEWTON.

And I persuade me so ; why else this strength  
 Miraculous yet remaining in those locks ?  
 His might continues in thee not for nought,  
 Nor shall his wonderous gifts be frustrate thus.

*Samf.* All otherwise to me my thoughts portend, 590

That these dark orbs no more shall treat with light,  
 Nor the other light of life continue long,  
 But yield to double darkness nigh at hand :  
 So much I feel my genial spirits droop,  
 My hopes all flat, Nature within me seems 595  
 In all her functions weary of herself ;  
 My race of glory run, and race of shame,  
 And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

*Man.* Believe not these suggestions, which proceed 599

From anguish of the mind and humours black,

Ver. 588. *His might continues &c.*] A fine preparative, which raises our expectation of some great event to be produced by his strength. **WARBURTON.**

Ver. 594. *So much I feel my genial spirits droop, &c.*] Here Milton, in the person of Samson, describes exactly his own case, what he felt, and what he thought, in some of his melancholy hours. He could not have written so well but from his own feeling and experience ; and the very flow of the verses is melancholy, and excellently adapted to the subject. As Mr. Thyer expresses it, there is a remarkable solemnity, and air of melancholy, in the very sound of these verses ; and the reader will find it very difficult to pronounce them without that grave and serious tone of voice which is proper for the occasion.

**NEWTON.**

Ver. 600. ————— and humours black,  
*That mingle with thy fancy.*] 'This very just notion

That mingle with thy fancy. I however  
Must not omit a father's timely care

of the mind or fancy's being affected, and as it were tainted with the vitiated humours of the body, Milton had before adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, where he introduces Satan in the shape of a toad at the ear of Eve, B. iv. 804.

“ Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint

“ The animal *spirits* &c.”

So again in *Comus*, v. 809.

————— “ 'tis but the *lees*

“ And *settlings* of a melancholy blood.” THYER.

In all these notions Milton has followed the authority of others; for, in the passage cited from *Par. Lost*, he might allude to Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 189, where the Tempter is described “troubling Eve's *spirit*,” and where it is observed also,

“ The euill Angels slide too easily,

“ As subtile spirits, *into our fantasie*.”

In the passage from *Comus*, the same book might have suggested the expressions, ed. sup. p. 21.

————— “ the *mass* of blood

“ The Sanguine Aire commands: the clotted mud,

“ Sunk down in *lees*, Earth's melancholy shewes.”

Or Shakspeare, *K. John*, A. iii. S. v.

“ Or if that furly spirit, *melancholy*,

“ Had bak'd thy blood, and made it heavy-thick.”

Here perhaps he was guided by Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy*: “Galen imputeth all to the cold that is *black*; and thinks, that, the *spirits* being darkened, and the substance of the braine cloudy and darke, all the objects thereof appear terrible, and the *mind* itselfe, by those darke, obscure, grosse fumes, *ascending from black humors*, is in continual darknesse, fear, and sorrow; divers terrible monstrous *fictions* in a thousand shapcs and apparitions occurrc, with violent passions, by which the braine and phantasy are troubled and eclipsed.” Edit. Oxon. 1624, p. 178. TODD.

Ver. 601. ————— *I however*

*Must not omit &c.*] Such is also the language of

To prosecute the means of thy deliverance  
By ransom, or how else : mean while be calm,  
And healing words from these thy friends admit.

[*Exit.*]

*Samf.* O that Torment should not be confin'd  
To the body's wounds and fores, 607  
With maladies innumerable  
In heart, head, breast, and reins ;  
But must secret passage find  
To the inmost mind, 611  
There exercise all his fierce accidents,  
And on her purest spirits prey,  
As on entrails, joints, and limbs,  
With answerable pains, but more intense, 615  
Though void of corporal sense.

My griefs not only pain me  
As a lingering disease,

Oceanus to his nephew Prometheus, *Æschyl. Prom. Vincit.*

Και νυν εγω ειμι, και περασσομαι,  
Εαν δυναμαι, τωνδε σ' εκλυσαι πονων.  
Συ δ' ησυχάζε. DUNSTER.

Ver. 605. *And healing words*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 290.

“ To whom with *healing words* Adam replied.”

The phrase is from Euripides, *Hippol.* v. 478.

Εἰσιν δ' ἐπωδαὶ καὶ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΘΕΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΙ. TODD.

Ver. 606. *O that Torment should not be confin'd &c.*] Milton, no doubt, was apprehensive that this long description of Samson's grief and misery might grow tedious to the reader, and therefore here with great judgement varies both his manner of expressing it, and the versification. These sudden starts of impatience are very natural to persons in such circumstances, and this rough and unequal measure of the verses is very well suited to it. THYER.



But, finding no redrefs, ferment and rage ;  
 Nor less than wounds immedicable 620  
 Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,  
 To black mortification.  
 Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly  
 stings,  
 Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts,

Ver. 620. ——— *wounds immedicable*] Ovid: *Met.* x. 189.  
 “Erat immedicabile vulnus.” Whence also in Tasso’s *Aminta*  
*Englisht*, 1628, A. ii. S. i.

“So deadly and immedicable wounds.” TODD.

Ver. 623. *Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly stings,*  
*Mangle &c.*] This descriptive imagery is fine  
 and well pursued. The idea is taken from the effects of poisonous  
 salts in the stomach and bowels, which stimulate, tear, inflame,  
 and exulcerate the tender fibres, and end in a mortification,  
 which he calls *death's benumbing opium*, as in that stage the pain  
 is over. WARBURTON.

This imagery may have been adopted in imitation of Spenser,  
*Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 39. or rather, *F. Q.* vi. vi. 5.

- “One day, as he was searching of their wounds,  
 “He found that they had *festered* privily;  
 “And, *rankling* inward with unruly sounds,  
 “The *inner parts* now gan to putrify,  
 “That quite they seem'd *past helpe of surgery*;  
 “And rather needed to be discipline  
 “With wholesome reade of sad sobriety,  
 “To rule the stubborn rage of passion blinde:  
 “Give salves to every sore, but counsell to the minde.”

The moral sentence, at the conclusion of this stanza, illustrates  
 also ver. 184. of this drama. Compare also the lamentation of  
 Io in the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, v. 884. ed. Schütz.

Ἵπὸ μ' αὖ σφάκελος καὶ φρενοπληγεῖς  
 Μανίαι θάλπουσ', οἷσ'ρου δ' ἄρδεις  
 Χρίει μ' ἄπυρος,  
 Κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει.

Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise 625  
 Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb  
 Or med'cinal liquour can assuage,

"*Mangled* mind," I must observe, is a phrase in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352.

"My *mangled minde* huge horrors still do fright."

After all, Milton might have had an eye to the impassioned exclamation of *Macbeth*, A. v. S. iii.

"Canst thou not minister to a *mind diseas'd* ;

"Pluck from the memory a *rooted sorrow* ; &c."

Compare also Milton's *Prose-Works*, where he speaks of "a smooth and easy lesson, which, received, hath the virtue to soften and dispel *rooted* and knotty *sorrows*," vol. i. ed. 1698. p. 281.

TODD.

Ver. 627. *Or med'cinal liquour*] Here *medicinal* is pronounced with the accent upon the last syllable but one, as in Latin ; which is more musical than as we commonly pronounce it *medicinal* with the accent upon the last syllable but two, or *med'cinal* as Milton has used it in *Comus*. The same musical pronunciation occurs in Shakspeare, *Othello*, A. v. S. x.

"Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees

"Their *medicinal* gum." NEWTON.

*Medicinal* is not the reading of Milton's own edition : In that it is *medcinal*. The supposed emendation of *medicinal* is made in the folio of 1688, and it has been since invariably followed. But Milton intended the word to be *medcinal*, and to be pronounced hastily, as in *Comus*, v. 636.

"And yet more *médicīnāl* is it than that Moly ;"

for it must be observed that the verse here consists of *only four feet*, corresponding with the alternate verses, to the end of the paragraph.—Mr. Steevens, in a note on the passage of *Othello*, cited by doctor Newton, observes that *medicinal* occurs in the works of two of our greatest poets, Milton and Dryden. I apprehend, not in the poetry of Milton. I even find, that in his own editions of his *Prose-Works*, Milton repeatedly spells the word, as in the text, *medcinal*. TODD.

Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp.  
 Sleep hath forfok and given me o'er  
 To death's benumbing opium as my only cure :  
 Thence faintings, swoonings of despair, 631  
 And sense of Heaven's desertion.

I was his nursling once, and choice delight,  
 His destin'd from the womb,  
 Promis'd by heavenly message twice descending.  
 Under his special eye 636  
 Abstemious I grew up, and thriv'd amain ;  
 He led me on to mightiest deeds,

Ver. 628. *Nor breath of vernal air*] So, in that most delightful passage in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 264.

————— “airs, vernal airs,

“*Breathing the smell of field and grove.*” TODD.

Ibid. ————— *from snowy Alp.*] He uses *Alp* for mountain in general, as in *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 620. *Alp*, in the strict etymology of the word, signifies a mountain white with snow. We have indeed appropriated the name to the high mountains which separate Italy from France and Germany ; but any high mountain may be so called, and so Sidonius Apollinaris calls mount Athos, speaking of Xerxes cutting through it, *Carm.* ii. 510. NEWTON.

Milton took this use of the word from the Italian poets, amongst whom it is very common. HURD.

Ver. 633. *I was his nursling once, &c.*] This part of Samson's speech is little more than a repetition of what he had said before, v. 23.

“O, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold

“Twice by an Angel &c.”

But yet it cannot justly be imputed as a fault to our author. Grief, though eloquent, is not tied to forms ; and is besides apt in its own nature frequently to recur to, and repeat, its source and subject. THYER.

Above the nerve of mortal arm,  
 Against the uncircumcis'd, our enemies : 640  
 But now hath cast me off as never known,  
 And to those cruel enemies,  
 Whom I by his appointment had provok'd,  
 Left me all helpless with the irreparable loss  
 Of fight, reserv'd alive to be repeated 645  
 The subject of their cruelty or scorn.  
 Nor am I in the list of them that hope ;  
 Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless :  
 This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,  
 No long petition, speedy death, 650  
 The close of all my miseries, and the balm.

*Chor.* Many are the sayings of the wise,  
 In ancient and in modern books inroll'd,  
 Extolling patience as the truest fortitude ;  
 And to the bearing well of all calamities, 655  
 All chances incident to man's frail life,  
 Consolatories writ  
 With studied argument, and much persuasion  
 fought

Ver. 654. ——— *patience as the truest fortitude ;*] So, in  
*Par. Lost*, B. ix. 31. "the better fortitude of patience." TODD.

Ver. 656. *All chances incident to man's frail life, &c.*] There  
 is a full stop at the end of this line in all the editions, but there  
 should be only a comma, as the sense evinces, the construction  
 being *And consolatories writ with &c. to the bearing well &c.*  
 Milton himself corrected it in the first edition ; but when an  
 error is once made, it is sure to be perpetuated through all the  
 editions. NEWTON.

Ver. 658. ————— *and much persuasion fought*] I  
 suppose an error of the press for *fraught*. WARBURTON.

Lenient of grief and anxious thought :  
 But with the afflicted in his pangs their sound  
 Little prevails, or rather seems a tune 661  
 Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his com-  
 plaint ;  
 Unless he feel within  
 Some source of consolation from above,  
 Secret refreshings, that repair his strength, 665  
 And fainting spirits uphold.  
 God of our fathers, what is man !

I conceive the construction to be, *Consolatories are writ with studied argument, and much persuasion is sought &c.* NEWTON.

But *sought* may mean *collected studiously or with pains* ; or, it may be used in the sense of *recherché* in French, *curious, refined, far-fetched.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 659. *Lenient of grief*] Expressed from what we quoted before from Horace, *Ep. I. i. 34.*

“ *Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem*

“ *Possis.*” — NEWTON.

Ver. 660. *But with the afflicted*] Here was another error perpetuated through all the editions, “ *But to the afflicted.*” Milton himself corrected it. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. ——— or rather seems a tune

*Harsh, and of dissonant mood &c.*] Alluding to *Ecclus. xxii. 6.* “ *A tale out of season is as musick in mourning.*”

THYER.

See also the *Mir. for Magistrates*, ed. 1610, p. 708.

“ The sage instructions of the wise man’s mouth,

“ *Do sound harsh musike in the eares of youth.*” TOND.

Ver. 667. *God of our fathers, what is man ! &c.*] This, and the following paragraph, to ver. 705. seem to be an imitation of the Chorus in Seneca’s *Hippolytus*, where the immature and undeserved fate of that young hero is lamented, *A. iv. 971.*

That thou towards him with hand ſo various,  
 Or might I ſay contrarious,  
 Temper'ſt thy providence through his ſhort courſe,  
 Not evenly, as thou rul'ſt 671  
 The angelick orders, and inferiour creatures mute,  
 Irrational and brute.  
 Nor do I name of men the common rout,  
 That wandering looſe about 675  
 Grow up and periſh, as the ſummer-fly,  
 Heads without name no more remember'd;  
 But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly elected,  
 With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd,  
 To ſome great work, thy glory, 680  
 And people's ſafety, which in part they effect:

—————“ fed cur idem,  
 “ Qui tanta regis, ſub quo vaſti  
 “ Pondera mundi librata ſuos  
 “ Ducunt orbes, hominum nimium  
 “ Securus ades; non ſollicitus  
 “ Prodeſſe bonis, nocuiſſe malis?”  
 &c. to the end. THYER.

Ver. 669. *Or might I ſay contrarious,*] *Adverſe.* So, in *the Weakeſt goeth to the Wall*, 1600. “Like a *contrarious* tempeſt.” And in Chaucer's *Leg. of Dido*, v. 435. edit. Urr.

“Sens that the goddeſ ben *contrarious* to me.” TODD.

Ver. 676. ————— *as the ſummer-fly,*] So, in Shakſpeare, *K. Hen. VI.* P. iii. A. ii. S. vi.

“The common people ſwarm *like ſummer-flies.*” TODD.

Ver. 677. *Heads without name no more remember'd;*] Milton here probably had in view the Greek term for this lower claſs of mortals. They ſtyle them ἀνάρητοι or ἀναρίθμητοι, *men not numbered, or not worth the numbering.* THYER.

Yet toward these thus dignified, thou oft,  
 Amidst their highth of noon,  
 Changeſt thy countenance, and thy hand, with  
                   no regard

Of higheſt favours paſt 683  
 From thee on them, or them to thee of ſervice.

Nor only doſt degrade them, or remit  
 To life obſcur'd, which were a fair diſmiſſion,  
 But throw'ſt them lower than thou didſt exalt  
                   them high ;

Unſeemly falls in human eye, 690  
 Too grievous for the trefpaſs or omiſſion ;  
 Oft leav'ſt them to the hoſtile ſword  
 Of Heathen and profane, their carcaſſes

Ver. 682. *Yet toward theſe thus dignified, thou oft,  
 Amidſt their highth of noon,  
 Changeſt thy countenance,*] There is a fine paſſage  
 in the Fragments of Euripides, which Milton perhaps now re-  
 membered. See *Incert. Trag. Eurip.* v. 12. edit. Barnes.

Πολλοῖς ὁ Δαίμων, ἐ κατ' ἔνοισιν φέρων,  
 Μεγάλα δίδωσιν εὐτυχίματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα  
 Τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐμφανέστερας. TODD.

Ver. 683. *Amidſt their highth of noon,*] This forcible ex-  
 preſſion is applied in the ſame manner by Sandys, in his *Para-  
 phraſe upon Job*, ed. 1648, p. 34.

“ When men are from *their noon of glory* thrown.”

Again, in his *Paraphraſe upon the Pſalms*, ed. ſupr. p. 124.

“ Thou haſt on ſlippery *heights* their greatneſſe plac'd ;

“ Down headlong from *their noon of glory* caſt.” TODD.

Ver. 693. ————— *their carcaſſes*

*To dogs and fowls a prey,*] Plainly alluding to  
 Homer, *Il.* i. 4.

To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv'd ; 694  
Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,

— αὐτὰς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχει κύνεσσιν,  
Οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι. NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times, &c.*] Here, no doubt, Milton reflected upon the trials and sufferings of his party after the Restoration ; and probably he might have in mind particularly the case of Sir Harry Vane, whom he has so highly celebrated in one of his Sonnets.

*If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty &c. ;* this was his own case ; he escaped with life, but lived in poverty, and though he was always very sober and temperate, yet he was much afflicted with the gout and other *painful diseases, in crude old age, cruda senectus*, when he was not yet a very old man :

“ Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering

“ The punishment of dissolute days.”

Some time after I had written this, I had the pleasure to find that I had fallen into the same vein of thinking with Mr. Warburton : but he has opened and pursued it much further, with a penetration and liveliness of fancy peculiar to himself.

“ *God of our fathers,*” to ver. 704, is a bold expostulation with Providence for the ill success of the *good old cause*.

“ But such as thou hast solemnly elected,

“ With *gifts and graces* eminently adorn'd

“ To some great work thy glory.”

In these three lines are described the characters of the Heads of the Independent Enthusiasts : “ which *in part* they effect :” that is, by the overthrow of the monarchy, without being able to raise their projected republick.

“ Yet toward these thus dignified, thou oft,

“ Amidst their highth of noon,

“ Changest thy countenance—”

After Richard had laid down, all power came into the hands of the enthusiastick Independent Republicans, when a sudden revolution, by the return of Charles II. broke all their measures.



And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude.  
 If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty  
 With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,  
 Painful diseases and deform'd,  
 In crude old age ;

700

——— “ with no regard  
 “ Of highest favours past  
 “ *From thee on them, or them to thee of service.*”

That is, without any regard of those favours shown by thee to them in their wonderful successes against tyranny and superstition, [Church and State,] or of those services they paid to thee in declaring for religion and liberty, [Independency and a Republick.]

“ Nor only dost degrade &c.  
 “ Too grievous for the *trespasses* or *omission* ;”

By the *trespasses* of these precious saints Milton means the quarrels among themselves: and by the *omission*, the not making a clear stage in the constitution, and new-modelling the *law*, as well as national religion, as Ludlow advised.

“ *Captiv'd* :” Several were condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment, as Lambert and Martin.

“ Or to the *unjust tribunals* under change of times &c.”

The trials and condemnation of Vane and the Regicides. The concluding verses describe his own case,

“ If these they 'scape, perhaps in *poverty* —  
 “ *Painful diseases and deform'd* —  
 “ Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering  
 “ *The punishment of dissolute days* :”

His losses in the Excise, and his gout not caused by intemperance. But Milton was the most heated enthusiast of his time; speaking of Charles the first's murder in his Defence of the people of England he says—“ *Quamquam ego hæc divino potius instinctu gesta esse crediderim, quoties memoria repeto, &c.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 700. *In crude old age* ;] *Crude* old age in Virgil, and in others writers, is *strong* and *robust*,—“ *cruda Deo viridisque*

Though not difordinate, yet caufelefs suffering  
 The punifhment of diffolute days : in fine,  
 Juft, or unjuft, alike feem miserable,  
 For oft alike both come to evil end.

Sodealnotwiththisonce thy glorious champion,  
 The image of thy ftrength, and mighty minifter.  
 What do I beg? how haft thou dealt already!  
 Behold him in this ftate calamitous, and turn

*ſeneſtus.*" But Milton uſes here *crude* for *premature* and *coming before its time*, as "*cruda funera*" in Statius: Old age brought on by poverty and by ficknefs, as Heſiod ſays, *Epy.* v. 93.

Αἴψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγυράσκουσι. JORTIN.

Dr. Jortin might have added, that Heſiod has the expreſſion, *crude old age*, in the ſame ſenſe as Milton here. *Epy.* v. 703.

————— ἦτ' ἀνδρα καὶ ἰφθίμον περ' εὐόνα  
 ἔννει ἀτερ δαλῆ, καὶ ὠμῶ γῆραι δῶκεν.

And ſo has Homer, *Odylſſ.* xv. 356. DUNSTER.

Ver. 704. *For oft alike both come to evil end.*] This may ſeem a ſtrange ſentiment to come from the Chorus; but was proper to conſole Samſon, who ſuffered chiefly from thoſe *thoughts, his tormenters*, which repreſented his calamity as a deciſive mark of his ſuperiour guilt, and of Heaven's reſentment. Hence thoſe *ſwoonings of deſpair, and ſenſe of Heaven's deſertion*, for which there was no cauſe, if the *juſt* might ſometimes thus ſuffer. 'This condeſcenſion, is of the charaſter of the Chorus: "*Ille bonis favet & conſiliatur amice!*" We are not to conſider the ſentiment ſimply in itſelf, but as adapted to preſent circumſtances. The purpoſe of the Chorus was not to calumniate Providence, but to ſooth the unhappy ſufferer. Beſides, the general moral of the piece, enforced by the Chorus itſelf at the end; "*All is beſt, though we oft doubt, &c.*" rectifies all, and counteracts any ill impreſſion from this carnal ſentiment. HURD.

Ver. 708. *Behold him in this ſtate calamitous, and turn  
 His labours, for thou canſt, to peaceful end.*] The

His labours, for thou canst, to peaceful end.—

But who is this, what thing of sea or land ? 710  
 Female of sex it seems,  
 That so bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,  
 Comes this way failing  
 Like a stately ship

concluding verses of this beautiful Chorus appear to me particularly affecting, from the persuasion that Milton, in composing them, addressed the two last immediately to Heaven, as a prayer for himself. If the conjecture of this application be just, we may add, that never was the prevalence of a righteous prayer more happily conspicuous; and let me here remark, that however various the opinions of men may be concerning the merits or demerits of Milton's political character, the integrity of his heart appears to have secured to him the favour of Providence; since it pleased the Giver of all good not only to turn his labours to a peaceful end, but to irradiate his declining life with the most abundant portion of those pure and sublime mental powers, for which he had constantly and fervently prayed, as the choicest bounty of Heaven. HAYLEY.

Ver. 712. *That so bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,*] In his *Treatise on Education*, he has “a graceful and ornate Rhetorick.” This word occurs in Caxton's Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos*, 1490; “Not in rude and old language, but in polished and ornate terms.” See also *Ancient Scottish Poems*, edit. 1786. vol. i. p. 63. “Quhen endit had hir ornat speche this eloquent wedo.”

TODD.

Ver. 714. *Like a stately ship &c.*] The thought of comparing a woman to a ship, is not entirely new. Plautus has it in his *Pænulus*, l. II. i.

“Negotii sibi qui volet vim parare,

“Navem et mulierem, hæc duo comparato, &c.”

Mr. Warburton, in a note on the *Merry W. of Windsor*, A. iii. S. viii, speaking of *the ship-tire*, says “it was an open head-dress, with a kind of scarf depending from behind. Its name of *ship-tire* was, I presume, from its giving the wearer some re-

Of Tarfus, bound for the isles

715

Of Javan or Gadire

With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,

Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,

semblance of a ship, as Shakspeare says, *in all her trim*; with all her pennants out, and flags and streamers flying. Thus Milton paints Dalila. This was an image familiar with the poets of that time. Thus, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without Money*: *She spreads fattens as the king's ships do canvas.* NEWTON.

Thus it is said in Barnabe Rych's *Roome for a Gentleman*, &c. 4to. 1609. "When a lady is out of the new fashion, she is *like a shippe that is out of trim*; shee will neuer steare well." fol. 30. a. And compare Parrot's *Springes for Woodcocks*, 12mo. 1613. Epigr. 89. Lib. 1.

"When Mistris Win did first her waistcoat weare,  
"She scarcely could that cariage then maintaine,  
"But now *on float* her selfe aloft doth beare,  
"With flags and top-sailes launching forth amaine."

TODD.

Ver. 715. *Of Tarfus,*] There is frequent mention in Scripture of the *ships of Tarshish*, which Milton, as well as some commentators, might conceive to be the same as *Tarfus*, in Cilicia: *bound for the isles of Javan*, that is, Greece; for *Javan* or Ion, the fourth son of Japhet, is said to have peopled Greece and Ionia, or *Gadire*, Γαδίρα, Gades, Cadiz. NEWTON.

Ver. 717. *With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,*  
*Sails fill'd, &c.*] Gray has also drawn a beautiful comparifon of a ship *in gallant trim*, in his *Bard*, v. 71, &c. I beg leave to introduce to the reader's notice a similar description, of remarkable elegance, in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie*, B. ii. ft. 35.

"Like as a ship, in which no ballance lies,  
"Without a pilot, on the sleeping waves,  
"Fairly along with winde and water flies,  
"And painted masts with filken sails *embraves*,  
"That Neptune's self the bragging vessel saves,

Courted by all the winds that hold them play,  
 An amber scent of odorous perfume 720  
 Her harbinger, a damsel train behind ;  
 Some rich Philistian matron she may seem ;  
 And now at nearer view, no other certain  
 'Than Dalila thy Wife.

*Samf.* My Wife ! my Traiteurs : let her not  
 come near me. 725

*Chor.* Yet on she moves, now stands and eyes  
 thee fix'd,

“ To laugh awhile at her so proud array ;

“ Her waving streamers loosely she lets play,

“ And flagging colours shine as bright as smiling day.”

Where *embraves* is *decorates*, as *bravery* in the text is *finery* or *ornament* ; in which sense the word is commonly used by our old poets. TODD.

Ver. 719. *Courted by all the winds*] This precise expression is applied to Eve in the *Adamo* of Pona, p. 41. “ *Servita dall'aure, corteggiata da' venti &c.*” TODD.

Ver. 720. *An amber scent &c.*] A favourite perfume with the Ladies, in the seventeenth century. Thus in Jonson's *Nephtune's triumph*, Proteus thus addresses the Ladies,

“ Why doe you smell of *Amber-gris* ?”

And in Herrick's address *To his Mistresses*, 1648, p. 18.

“ Put on your filks ; and piece by piece

“ Give them the *scent* of *Amber-greece*.”

And even with the beaux of the times, as in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 311.

“ Soft carpet-knights all *scenting* musk and *amber*.” TODD.

Ver. 726. *Yet on she moves, &c.*] Like Ismene in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 532.

Καὶ μὴν πρὸ πυλῶν ἥδ' Ἰσμήνη  
 Φιλιάδελφα κάτω δάκρυ' εἰβομένη.

About to have spoke; but now, with head declin'd,  
 Like a fair flower furcharg'd with dew, she weeps,  
 And words address'd seem into tears dissolv'd,  
 Wetting the borders of her filken veil: 730  
 But now again she makes address to speak.

Νιφέλη δ' ὀφρύων ὑπερ, αἵματόεν  
 Ρέθος αἰσχύνει,  
 Τίγ' ἔσ' εὐώπα παρειάν.

Mr. Jortin and Mr. Thyer both concurred in the same observation, and therefore it is more likely to be true. NEWTON.

Ver. 727. ————— but now, with head declin'd,  
*Like a fair flower &c.*] Probably from Homer,  
*Il. viii. 306.*

Μήκων δ' ὥς, ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἥτ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ  
 Καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίησ' τε εἰαρινῇσιν.

Dryden, in his *Aureng-zebe*, has almost literally copied Milton,

“ Your head declin'd, as hiding grief from view,  
 “ *Droops, like a rose furcharg'd with morning-dew.*”

Phineas Fletcher is fond of this classical allusion. See his *Purp. Island*, c. xi. ft. 30, and particularly ft. 38.

“ So have I often seen a purple flower,  
 “ *Fainting through heat, hang down her drooping head, &c.*”

Carew has also a similar comparison:

“ As lillies, overcharg'd with rain, they bend  
 “ *Their beauteous heads, &c.*” TODD.

Ver. 729. *And words address'd &c.*] This verse is printed imperfect in most of the editions,

“ And words address'd seem tears dissolv'd.”  
 that being wanted which is in the first edition,

“ And words address'd seem *into* tears dissolv'd.”

Mr. Jortin conjectured it should be so read, without seeing the first edition. NEWTON.

[Enter] *Dalila*.

*Dal.* With doubtful feet and wavering resolution

I came, still dreading thy displeasure, Samson,  
Which to have merited, without excuse,  
I cannot but acknowledge; yet, if tears 735  
May expiate, (though the fact more evil drew  
In the perverse event than I foresaw,)  
My penance hath not slacken'd, though my pardon  
No way assur'd. But conjugal affection,  
Prevailing over fear and timorous doubt, 740  
Hath led me on, desirous to behold  
Once more thy face, and know of thy estate,  
If aught in my ability may serve  
To lighten what thou suffer'st, and appease  
Thy mind with what amends is in my power, 745  
Though late, yet in some part to recompense  
My rash, but more unfortunate, misdeed.

*Samf.* Out, out, Hyæna! these are thy wonted  
arts,

Ver. 732. *With doubtful feet &c.*] The scene between Samson and Dalila is drawn up with great judgment, and particular beauty. One cannot conceive a more artful, soft, and persuasive, eloquence than that which is put into the mouth of Dalila; nor is the part of Samson less to be admired for that stern and resolute firmness which runs through it. What also gives both parts a great additional beauty is their forming so fine a contrast to each other. THYER.

Ver. 748. *Out, out, Hyæna!*] The hyæna is a creature somewhat like a wolf, and is said to imitate a human voice so artfully as to draw people to it, and then devour them. So Solinus, the transcriber of Pliny, cap. 27. "Multa de ea mira:

And arts of every woman false like thee,  
 To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray, 750  
 Then as repentant to submit, beseech,  
 And reconciliation move with feign'd remorse,  
 Confess, and promise wonders in her change ;  
 Not truly penitent, but chief to try  
 Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears, 755  
 His virtue or weakness which way to assail :  
 Then with more cautious and instructed skill  
 Again transgresses, and again submits ;

primum, quod sequitur stabula pastorum, et auditu assiduo addiscit vocamen, quod exprimere possit *imitatione vocis humanæ*, ut in hominem astu accitum nocte sæviat." A celebrated tragic writer makes use of the same comparison, *Orphan*, A. ii.

" 'Tis thus the false hyæna makes her moan,  
 " To draw the pitying traveller to her den ;  
 " Your sex are so, such false dissemblers all, &c."

Milton applies it to a woman, but Otway to the men ; which with the greater justice let the criticks and the ladies determine.

NEWTON.

An old dramatick writer has in different places of his play entitled *The Cocker's Prophecy*, 1594, compared *both* sexes to the hyæna. I find another reflection of this kind in Greene's *Neuer too late*, 1616, pt. 2d. " She weepes with the crocodile, and smiles with the *hiena*, and flatters with the panther." But Milton seems to have had in mind B. Jonson's *For*, A. iv. S. vi.

" Out, thou chameleon harlot ! now thine eyes  
 " Vie tears with the *hyæna*." TODD.

Ver. 748. ————— *these are thy wonted arts,*] From Ovid :

" Credidimus lacrymis, an et hæ simulare docentur ?  
 " Hæ quoque habent artes, quæque jubentur eunt."

Ver. 750. Almost the whole of the paragraph is closely copied, or imitated, by Dryden in his *Aureng-zebe*, A. ii. S. i. TODD.



That wisest and best men, full oft beguil'd,  
 With goodness principled not to reject 760  
 The penitent, but ever to forgive,  
 Are drawn to wear out miserable days,  
 Entangled with a poisonous bosom snake,  
 If not by quick destruction soon cut off,  
 As I by thee, to ages an example. 765

*Dal.* Yet hear me, Samson; not that I endeavour

To lessen or extenuate my offence,  
 But that on the other side, if it be weigh'd  
 By itself, with aggravations not furcharg'd,  
 Or else with just allowance counterpois'd, 770  
 I may, if possible, thy pardon find  
 The easier towards me, or thy hatred less.  
 First granting, as I do, it was a weakness  
 In me, but incident to all our sex,

Ver. 759. *That wisest and best men, full oft beguil'd,  
 With goodness &c.*] Milton had reason to lament  
 that excess of indulgence, with which he forgave and received  
 again his disobedient and long-alienated wife; since their re-  
 union not only disquieted his days, but gave birth to daughters,  
 who seem to have inherited the perversity of their mother. These  
 pathetick lines strike me as a forcible allusion to his own conju-  
 gial infelicity. HAYLEY.

Ver. 762. *Are drawn to wear out miserable days, —  
 If not by quick destruction soon cut off,*] He makes  
 the same reflection, in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, on  
 “two persons *ill embarkt in wedlock*. What folly is it to stand  
 combating and battering against invincible causes and effects,  
 with evil upon evil, *till either the best of our days be lingered out,  
 or ended with some speeding sorrow.*” B. i. 10. TODD.

Curiosity, inquisitive, impórtune 775  
 Of secrets, then with like infirmity  
 To publish them, both common female faults :  
 Was it not weakness also to make known  
 For importunity, that is for nought,  
 Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety ? 780  
 To what I did thou show'd'st me first the way.  
 But I to enemies reveal'd, and should not :  
 Nor should'st thou have trusted that to woman's  
     frailty :  
 Ere I to thee, thou to thyself wast cruel. 784  
 Let weakness then with weakness come to parle,  
 So near related, or the same of kind,  
 Thine forgive mine ; that men may censure thine  
 The gentler, if severely thou exact not  
 More strength from me, than in thyself was found.  
 And what if love, which thou interpret'st hate, 790  
 The jealousy of love, powerful of sway  
 In human hearts, nor less in mind towards thee,  
 Caus'd what I did ? I saw thee mutable  
 Offancy, fear'd lest one day thou would'st leave me

Ver. 785. ————— *come to parle,*] In *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 296, *parle* is *talk* ; here it is *treaty* or *reconciliation*, as in Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, A. i. S. i. " Though the nature of our quarrel never yet brook'd *parle*, know now, upon advice, it touched us both, &c." So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 529. " By *parle* or composition." *Parle* is said to have been one of the affected words introduced into our language by Lyly. See Stevens's Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. 15, p. 10. Milton also uses it as a verb, *Hist. of Eng.* B. vi. " Knute, finding himself too *weak*, began to *parle*," that is, to *treat*. Todd.

As her at Timna, fought by all means therefore  
 How to endear, and hold thee to me firmest : 796  
 No better way I saw than by impórtuning  
 'To learn thy secrets, get into my power  
 'Thy key of strength and safety : thou wilt say,  
 Why then reveal'd ? I was assur'd by those 800  
 Who tempted me, that nothing was design'd  
 Against thee but ~~safe~~ custody, and hold :  
 'That made for me ; I knew that liberty  
 Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprises,  
 While I at home sat full of cares and fears, 805  
 Wailing thy absence in my widow'd bed ;  
 Here I should still enjoy thee, day and night,  
 Mine and love's prisoner, not the Philistines',  
 Whole to myself, unhazarded abroad,  
 Fearless at home of partners in my love. 810  
 'These reasons in love's law have past for good,  
 'Though fond and reasonless to some perhaps ;  
 And love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much  
 woe,

Yet always pity or pardon hath obtain'd.  
 Be not unlike all others, not austere 815  
 As thou art strong, inflexible as steel.

Ver. 808. *Mine and love's prisoner,*] These few words express the substance of Juliet's beautiful speech to Romeo :

- “ 'Tis almost morning, I would have thee gone ;  
 “ And yet no further than a wanton's bird ;  
 “ Who lets it hop a little from her hand,  
 “ Like a poor prisoner in his twisted gyves,  
 “ And with a silk thread plucks it back again,  
 “ *So loving-jealous of his liberty.*” TODD.

If thou in strength all mortals dost exceed,  
In uncompassionate anger do not so.

*Samf.* How cunningly the forcerefs displays  
Her own transgressions, to upbraid me mine ! 820  
That malice, not repentance, brought thee hither,  
By this appears ; I gave, thou say'st, the example,  
I led the way ; bitter reproach, but true ;  
I to myself was false ere thou to me ;  
Such pardon therefore as I give my folly, 825  
Take to thy wicked deed ; which when thou seest  
Impartial, self-severe, inexorable,  
Thou wilt renounce thy seeking, and much rather  
Confess it feign'd : Weakness is thy excuse,  
And I believe it ; weakness to resist 830  
Philistian gold : If weakness may excuse,  
What murderer, what traitor, parricide,  
Incestuous, sacrilegious, but may plead it ?  
All wickedness is weakness : that plea therefore  
With God or Man will gain thee no remission. 835  
But love constrain'd thee ; call it furious rage  
To satisfy thy lust : love seeks to have love ;  
My love how could'st thou hope, who took'st the  
- way  
To raise in me inexpiable hate,  
Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ? 840

Ver. 825. *Such pardon therefore as I give my folly  
Take to thy wicked deed ; &c.*] These sentiments  
of self-condemnation are expressed with wonderful dignity. They  
reflect all the noble and resolute virtue of the poet's own highly-  
principled mind. DUNSTER.

Ver. 840. *Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ?*] The  
same manner of speaking, as in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 792.

In vain thou striv'st to cover shame with shame,  
Or by evasions thy crime uncover'st more.

*Dal.* Since thou determin'st weakness for no  
plea

In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,  
Hear what assaults I had, what snares besides, 845  
What sieges girt me round, ere I consented ;  
Which might have aw'd the best-resolv'd of men,  
The constantest, to have yielded without blame.  
It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'st,  
That wrought with me : Thou know'st the ma-  
gistrates 850

And princes of my country came in person,  
Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,  
Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty  
And of religion, press'd how just it was,

“ And knew not eating death.”

Where see Mr. Richardson's note. NEWTON.

Ver. 842. *Or &c.*] This is the reading of the old editions, and particularly of Milton's own : the later ones have “ *For by evasions,*” which is not so plain and intelligible. NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ————— *Thou know'st the magistrates &c.*] Judges xvi. 5. “ *And the Lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said &c.*” So exact is Milton in all the particulars of the story, and improves every incident. NEWTON.

Compare the account, related by Sallust, of Cicero, who secured the harlot Fulvia to his interest ; and through her means gained, by the force of promises, his intelligence of Catiline's machinations from Q. Curius, who was engaged in the conspiracy, and with whom Fulvia was criminally connected : “ *A principio consulatus sui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo, effecerat, ut Q. Curius (cui cum Fulvia stupri vetus consuetudo) consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet.*” TODD.

How honourable, how glorious, to entrap 855  
 A common enemy, who had destroy'd  
 Such numbers of our nation: and the priest  
 Was not behind, but ever at my ear,  
 Preaching how meritorious with the Gods  
 It would be to ensnare an irreligious 860  
 Dishonourer of Dagon: what had I  
 To oppose against such powerful arguments?  
 Only my love of thee held long debate,  
 And combated in silence all these reasons  
 With hard contest: at length that grounded  
     maxim, 865  
 So ripe and celebrated in the mouths  
 Of wisest men, that to the publick good  
 Private respects must yield, with grave authority  
 Took full possession of me, and prevail'd;  
 Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty, so enjoining.  
     *Samf.* I thought where all thy circling wiles  
         would end; 871  
 In feign'd religion, smooth hypocrisy!  
 But had thy love, still odiously pretended,

Ver. 857. ————— and the priest

*Was not behind, &c.]* The character of the priest, which makes a conspicuous figure here, is the poet's own addition to the scriptural account. It is obviously a satire on the ministers of the church. DUNSTER.

Ver. 864. ————— *all these reasons]* We follow the reading of Milton's own edition, and not of the others "all *their* reasons." NEWTON.

The folio of 1688 reads "*these* reasons." TODD.

Been, as it ought, sincere, it would have taught  
thee

Far other reasonings, brought forth other deeds.

I, before all the daughters of my tribe 876

And of my nation, chose thee from among

My enemies, lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st;

Too well; unbosom'd all my secrets to thee,

Not out of levity, but over-power'd 880

By thy request, who could deny thee nothing;

Yet now am judg'd an enemy. Why then

Did'st thou at first receive me for thy husband,

'Then, as since then, thy country's foe profess'd?

Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave 885

Parents and country; nor was I their subject,

Nor under their protection but my own,

'Thou mine, not theirs: If aught against my life

Ver. 878. ——— *lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st;*] There is an inconsistency here with what Samson had said before. Here he professes a violent affection for Dalila, as the sole motive of his marrying her; whereas he had before asserted that he was in a certain degree determined to it by hopes of finding occasion thereby to oppress the Philistines, ver. 234. Manoah likewise says, that Samson pleaded "divine compulsion" for both his marriages, ver. 422. But Milton may be understood to have imagined Samson in his marriage with Dalila acting merely from inclination, and (as people, who do so, are apt to reason falsely in their own vindication,) *falsely* attributing and ascribing it to divine impulse. This is consistent with what is said, ver. 532, where Samson describes himself "swoln with pride," that is, at his superiour strength, and on that account as it seems deserted by God, and falling into the "snare of fair fallacious looks, &c." So that what he here says to Dalila is true; and the real motives of his marrying her were that he "loved her," as he himself says, "too well." DUNSTER.

Thy country fought of thee, it fought unjustly,  
 Against the law of nature, law of nations ; 890  
 No more thy country, but an impious crew  
 Of men conspiring to uphold their state  
 By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends  
 For which our country is a name so dear ; 894  
 Not therefore to be obey'd. But zeal mov'd thee ;  
 To please thy gods thou didst it ; gods unable  
 To acquit themselves and prosecute their foes  
 But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction  
 Of their own deity, gods cannot be ;  
 Less therefore to be pleas'd, obey'd, or fear'd. 900  
 These false pretexes and varnish'd colours failing,  
 Bare in thy guilt, how foul must thou appear !

*Dal.* In argument with men a woman ever  
 Goes by the worse, whatever be her cause.

*Samf.* For want of words no doubt, or lack  
 of breath ; 905

Witness when I was worried with thy peals.

Ver. 898. — *by ungodly deeds, the contradiction*

*Of their own deity, gods cannot be ;*] So, in Baruch's description of the Babylonian idols, chap. vi. 44. "Whatsoever is done among them is *false* : how may it then be thought or said that they are gods?" TODD.

Ver. 901. — *and varnish'd colours failing,]*

See his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 161, ed. 1698. "Painting his lewd and deceitful principles with a smooth and glossy *varnish* in a doctrinall way, to bring about his wickedest purposes." I apprehend that Milton might employ the expression, in allusion to St. James's description of the tongue, which is called ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ τῆς ἀδικίας, "the *varnish* of iniquity," as it should be rendered. See Wetstein in *Jac.* iii. 6. TODD.



*Dal.* I was a fool, too rash, and quite mistaken  
 In what I thought would have succeeded best.  
 Let me obtain forgiveness of thee, Samson ;  
 Afford me place to show what recompence 910  
 Towards thee I intend for what I have misdone,  
 Misguided ; only what remains past cure  
 Bear not too sensibly, nor still insist  
 To afflict thyself in vain : though fight be lost,  
 Life yet hath many solaces, enjoy'd 915  
 Where other senses want not their delights  
 At home in leisure and domestick ease,  
 Exempt from many a care and chance, to which  
 Eye-sight exposes daily men abroad.  
 I to the Lords will intercede, not doubting 920  
 Their favourable ear, that I may fetch thee  
 From forth this loathsome prison-house, to abide  
 With me, where my redoubled love and care  
 With nursing diligence, to me glad office,  
 May ever tend about thee to old age 925  
 With all things grateful cheer'd, and so supplied,  
 That, what by me thou hast lost, thou least shalt  
 miss.

*Samf.* No, no ; of my condition take no care ;  
 It fits not ; thou and I long since are twain :  
 Nor think me so unwary or accurs'd, 930  
 To bring my feet again into the snare

Ver. 914. ————— *though fight be lost, &c.*] We have a similar sentiment in Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* “ Animo autem multis modis variisque delectari licet, etiam si non adhibeatur aspectus.” L. v. C. 38. DUNSTER.

Where once I have been caught: I know thy  
trains,

Though dearly to my cost, thy gins, and toils;  
Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,  
No more on me have power; their force is null'd;  
So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd, 936  
To fence my ear against thy forceries.

If in my flower of youth and strength, when all  
men

Lov'd, honour'd, fear'd me, thou alone could'st  
hate me 939

Thy husband, flight me, sell me, and forego me;  
How wouldst thou use me now, blind, and  
thereby

Ver. 934. *Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,*] Alluding, no doubt, to the story of Circe and the Syrens: but did not our author's fondness for Greek learning make him here forget that it is a little out of character to represent Samson acquainted with the mythology of that country? It seems the more odd, as the allusion to the adder, immediately following, is taken from Scripture. THYER.

He might as well be supposed to know the story of Circe and the Syrens, as of Tantalus, &c. before, v. 500: and there is no more impropriety in the one than in the other. NEWTON.

Mr. Thyer's observation is, however, just; and doctor Johnson has not forgotten to notice the impropriety of all these allusions. Mr. Glasse, in his translation, and Mr. Penn, in his alteration, of this tragedy, have omitted these objectionable passages. TODD.

Ver. 936. *So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd,*] The allusion is to *Psalms* lviii. 4, 5. "They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely." NEWTON.

Deceivable, in most things as a child  
 Helpless, thence easily contemn'd, and scorn'd,  
 And last neglected ! How would'st thou insult,  
 When I must live uxorious to thy will 945  
 In perfect thralldom ; how again betray me,  
 Bearing my words and doings to the Lords  
 To gloss upon, and, censuring, frown or smile !  
 This jail I count the house of liberty  
 To thine, whose doors my feet shall never enter.

*Dal.* Let me approach at least, and touch thy  
 hand. 951

*Samf.* Not for thy life, lest fierce remembrance  
 wake

My sudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.  
 At distance I forgive thee ; go with that ;  
 Bewail thy falshood, and the pious works 955  
 It hath brought forth to make thee memorable  
 Among illustrious women, faithful wives !  
 Cherish thy hasten'd widowhood with the gold

Ver. 953. ————— *to tear thee joint by joint.*] Milton perhaps recollected blind Polymestor's desire of revenge upon Hecuba, in the play of that name by Euripides, v. 1125. ed. Barnes.

————— εἰπὲ πῶς θ', ἴν' ἀρπάσας χερσῶν  
 Διασπάσσωμαι καὶ καθαυμάξω χρόα. TODD.

Ver. 956. ————— *to make thee memorable*  
*Among illustrious women, faithful wives !*] This irony may have been suggested by Homer, speaking of Clytemnestra, *Odys.* x.

————— ἡ δ' ἔξοχα λόγῳ εἰδυῖα,  
 Ἦντε κατ' αἴσχος ἔχεις, καὶ ἰσσομένησιν ὀπίσσω  
 Θηλυτέρησι γυναιξί. TODD.

Of matrimonial treason ! so farewell.

*Dal.* I see thou art implacable, more deaf 960  
To prayers than winds and seas ; yet winds to seas  
Are reconcil'd at length, and sea to shore :  
Thy anger, unappeasable, still rages,  
Eternal tempest, never to be calm'd.  
Why do I humble thus myself, and, suing 965  
For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate ;  
Bid go with evil omen, and the brand  
Of infamy upon my name denounc'd ?  
To mix with thy concernments I desist 969  
Henceforth, nor too much disapprove my own.  
Fame, if not double-fac'd, is double-mouth'd,  
And with contráry blast proclaims most deeds ;  
On both his wings, one black, the other white,

Ver. 960. *I see thou art implacable, &c.*] Dryden has transferred the simile into his *Aureng-zebe*, A. i. S. i. The same classical allusion is introduced in Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallenstein*, 1640. A. iv. S. i.

“ I am deafe, inexorable as seas

“ To the prayers of mariners, when their sinking keel

“ Is drunke with billowes.” TODD.

Ver. 972. *And with contráry blast*] The old accent on *contrary*. Thus in Harrington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607. p. 217.

“ From which (it seemed) now she did so vary,

“ As she had rather done the quite *contráry*.”

And in Harrington's *Castara*, 1635. p. 116.

“ By virtue of a cleane *contráry* gale.” TODD.

Ver. 973. *On both his wings, one black, the other white,*] Milton, in his poem *In Quint. Nov.* speaking of Fame, says

“ Induit et rariis exilia corpora plumis.”

I do not recollect any instance of Fame having two wings of different colours assigned by any of the Roman poets. Milton

Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.  
 My name perhaps among the circumcis'd 975  
 In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering tribes,  
 To all posterity may stand defam'd,

seems to have equipped his deity, very characteristically, by borrowing one wing from Infamy, and another from Victory or Glory, as they are both described by Silius Italicus; where Virtue contrasts herself with Pleasure or Dissipation, L. xv. 95.

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“ *atris*  
 “ Circa te semper volitans Infamia *pennis* ;  
 “ Mecum Honor, et Laudes, et læto Gloria vultu,  
 “ Et Decus, et *niveis* Victoria concolor *alis*.”

Ben Jonson, in one of his Masks, introduces *Fama Bona* (as she is described in *Inconolog. de Cæsare Ripa*) attired in white, with *white wings*; and she terms herself the *white-wing'd* maid.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 974. *Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.*] I think Fame has passed for a goddess ever since Hesiod deified her, *Epy.* 763. Milton makes her a *god*, I know not why unless secundum eos, qui dicunt utriusque sexus participationem habere numina. So, in his *Lycidas*, he says (unless it be a false print)

“ So may some gentle *Muse*  
 “ With lucky words favour my destin'd urn,  
 “ And as *he* passes turn;”

where *Muse* in the masculine for *poet* is very bold.

Perhaps it should here also be,

“ Bears greatest names in his *wide* aery flight.”

What Milton says of Fame's bearing great names on his wings, seems to be partly from Horace, *Od.* II. ii. 7.

“ Illum agat penna metuente solvi  
 “ *Fama* superstes.” JORTIN.

I apprehend that *wild* is full as applicable as *wide* to the character and office of Fame, And thus Shakspeare, *Othello*, A. ii. S. i.

“ That paragons description and *wild* Fame.” TODD.

With malediction mention'd, and the blot  
 Of falshood most unconjugal traduc'd.  
 But in my country, where I most desire, 980  
 In Ecron, Gaza, Afdod, and in Gath,  
 I shall be nam'd among the famoufest  
 Of women, sung at solemn festivals,  
 Living and dead recorded, who, to save  
 Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose 985  
 Above the faith of wedlock-bands; my tomb  
 With odours visited and annual flowers;

Ver. 982. *I shall be nam'd &c.*] In the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides, Iolaus addressing Macaria tells her, v. 598.

ΑΛΛ', ὧ μεγαλον εκπριπτα' ευψυχιας,  
 Πασων γυναικων ισθι τιμιωτατη,  
 Και ζῶσ' υφ' ημων και θανῶσ' εση πολυ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 986. ————— *my tomb*

*With odours visited and annual flowers;*] What is said in Scripture of the daughter of Jephtha, *that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament her*, seems to imply that this solemn and periodical visitation of the tombs of eminent persons was an eastern custom. TIERER.

This affectionate custom of decorating the tombs of departed friends, has descended to later times. See the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, v. 632, ed. Barnes. It still exists in some parts of this island. Shakspeare alludes to it in *Cymbeline*, A. iv. S. v.

————— “with fairest flowers,  
 “Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,  
 “I'll sweeten thy sad grave.”

Whence Collins, with remarkable taste and pathos;

“To fair Fidele's grassy tomb,  
 “Soft maids, and village hinds, shall bring  
 “Each opening sweet of earliest bloom,  
 “And rifle all the blooming spring.”

Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim  
 Jael, who with inhospitable guile  
 Smote Sifera sleeping, through the temples nail'd.  
 Nor shall I count it heinous to enjoy 991  
 The publick marks of honour and reward,  
 Conferr'd upon me for the piety,  
 Which to my country I was judg'd to have shewn.  
 At this whoever envies or repines, 995  
 I leave him to his lot, and like my own. [*Exit.*]

*Chor.* She's gone, a manifest serpent by her sting  
 Discover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.

*Samf.* So lether go; God sent her to debase me,

I take this opportunity of observing, that Collins may probably have been indebted to a fine passage in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Lovers Progress*, A. iv. S. i.

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“ I will kneel by him,  
 “ And on his hallow'd earth do my last duties:  
 “ I'll gather all the pride of Spring to deck him;  
 “ Woodbines shall grow upon his honour'd grave,  
 “ And, as they prosper, clasp, to show our friendship;  
 “ And, when they wither, I'll die too.” TODD.

Ver. 988. *Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim*

*Jael,*] Jael is celebrated in the noble song of Deborah and Barak, *Judg.* v. And Deborah dwelt between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim, *Judg.* iv. 5. NEWTON.

Ver. 995. *At this whoever envies or repines,*

*I leave him to his lot, and like my own.*] Teucer to the Chorus in Sophocles's *Ajax*, v. 1060.

“Ὅτ' ἂν μὴ τὰδ' εἰς ἡν γνώμη φίλα,

Κεῖνος τ' ἐκεῖνα σεργέτω, καὶ γὰρ τὰδε. CALTON.

Ver. 997. ———— *a manifest serpent by her sting*] The

Son of Sirach makes a similar observation on “an evil wife,” *Ecclus* xxvi. 7. “He that hath hold of her is as though he held a scorpion.” TODD.

And aggravate my folly, who committed 1000  
 To such a viper his most sacred trust  
 Of secrecy, my safety, and my life.

*Chor.* Yet beauty, though injurious, hath  
 strange power,

After offence returning, to regain  
 Love once possess'd, nor can be easily 1005  
 Repuls'd, without much inward passion felt  
 And secret sting of amorous remorse.

*Samf.* Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord  
 end,

Not wedlock-treachery endangering life. 1009

*Chor.* It is not virtue, wisdom, valour, wit,

Ver. 1003. *Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,]*  
 This truth Milton has finely exemplified in Adam forgiving  
 Eve, and he had full experience of it in his own case. See  
 note on *Par. Lost*, B. x. 940. NEWTON.

Ver. 1008. *Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,]* Terence,  
*Andria*, iii. iii. 23.

“Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est.” NEWTON.

Ver. 1010. *It is not virtue, &c.]* However just the obser-  
 vation may be, that Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, seems to court  
 the favour of the female sex, it is very certain, that he did not  
 carry the same complaisance into this performance. What the  
 Chorus here says, outgoes the very bitterest satire of Euripides,  
 who was called the *woman-hater*. It may be said indeed in  
 excuse, that the occasion was very provoking, and that these  
 reproaches are rather to be looked upon, as a sudden start of  
 resentment, than cool and sober reasoning. THYER.

These reflections are the more severe, as they are not spoken  
 by Samson, who might be supposed to utter them out of pique  
 and resentment, but are delivered by the Chorus as serious and  
 important truths. But, by all accounts, Milton himself had  
 suffered some uneasiness through the temper and behaviour of two



Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit,  
 'That woman's love can win or long inherit ;  
 But what it is, hard is to say,  
 Harder to hit,  
 (Which way soever men refer it,) 1015  
 Much like thy riddle, Samson, in one day  
 Or seven, though one should musing sit.

If any of these, or all, the Timnian bride  
 Had not so soon preferr'd 1019.  
 Thy paranymp, worthless to thee compar'd,  
 Successeur in thy bed,  
 Nor both so loosely disallied  
 Their nuptials, nor this last so treacherously  
 Had shorn the fatal harvest of thy head.

of his wives ; and no wonder therefore that, upon so tempting an occasion as this, he indulges his spleen a little, depreciates the qualifications of the women, and asserts the superiority of the men ; and, to give these sentiments the greater weight, puts them into the mouth of the Chorus. NEWTON.

Ver. 1020. *Thy paranymp,*] *Bride-man.* " But Samson's wife was given to *his companion*, whom he had used as his friend," *Judg.* xiv. 20. RICHARDSON.

The *paranymp* is an old English word : Thus in *Quodlibets of Religion and State*, 1602, p. 204. " Our blessed Ladies *paranymphs* Saint Gabriell." And thus in Drummond's Pageants, *Jove*, ver. 29. " Thou shalt no *paranymp* raise to high place." Where *paranymp* has a different meaning, namely, that of an *abettor* or *supporter*. For Milton's *paranymp*, see *John* iii. 29. It was usual, at the marriage-feasts of the Jews, to have a select company of young men to keep the bridegroom company, and to conduct the bride to the bridegroom's house. Selden has devoted a whole chapter to an inquiry into their office, in which he notices the *Bride-knights* of the English, *Uxor Ebraica*, B. ii.

TODD.

Is it for that such outward ornament 1025  
 Was lavish'd on their sex, that inward gifts  
 Were left for haste unfinish'd, judgement scant,  
 Capacity not rais'd to apprehend  
 Or value what is best  
 In choice, but ofttest to affect the wrong? 1030  
 Or was too much of self-love mix'd,  
 Of constancy no root infix'd,  
 That either they love nothing, or not long?  
 Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best 1034  
 Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil,  
 Soft, modest, meek, demure,

Ver. 1025. *Is it for that such outward ornament &c.*] Thus, in Tasso's *Aminta*, A. iii. S. 1.

————— “ e tu Natura,  
 “ Negligente maestra, perche solo  
 “ A le donne nel volto, e in quel di fuori  
 “ Ponesti quanto in loro è di gentile,  
 “ Di mansueto, e di cortese; e tutte  
 “ L' altre parti obliasti?” TODD.

Ver. 1034. ————— *to wisest men and best*] Read “ *to the wisest man.*” See the following expressions—“ *in his way*” —“ *draws him awry.*” MEADOWCOURT.

We have such a change of the number in the *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 1183, where see the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 1035. ————— *under virgin veil,*] Perhaps Milton here alludes to the Jewish virgins, who, being kept secluded from the sight of men, were called *hidden* or *concealed*; and, when they were first presented to their husbands, covered their heads *with a veil*. But see his *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, B. i. chap. 3; where he is speaking of the disappointments which *may* happen, in choosing a wife, to “ the sober man honouring the appearance of modesty, and hoping well of every social virtue *under the veil.*” TODD.

Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn  
 Intestine, far within defensive arms  
 A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue  
 Adverse and turbulent, or by her charms 1040  
 Draws him awry enslav'd  
 With dotage, and his sense deprav'd  
 To folly and shameful deeds which ruin ends.  
 What pilot so expert but needs must wreck,  
 Imbark'd with such a steers-mate at the helm !  
 Favour'd of Heaven, who finds 1046

Ver. 1038. ——— far *within defensive arms*] An early edition of Tonson's had printed "*war within defensive arms*," which Tickell and Fenton have also followed, and most of the succeeding editions, before that of doctor Newton. TODD.

Ver. 1039. *A cleaving mischief*,] These words allude to the poisoned shirt sent to Hercules by his wife Deianira.

MEADOWCOURT.

So Dryden thought, *Aureng-zebe*, A. ii. S. i.

"When we lay next us what we hold most dear,

"*Like Hercules, extenom'd shirts we wear,*

"And CLEAVING MISCHIEFS."

Milton, in his *Dock. and Discip. of Divorce*, speaks of "the blessing of matrimony changed not seldom into a *co-inhabiting mischief*." Pref. lib. i. In his treatise *Of Reformation &c.* B. 2. he has the expression, differently applied, of "*a cleaving curse*."  
 TODD.

Ibid. ——— in *his way to virtue*

*Adverse and turbulent*,] This is the sentiment of the *woman-hater*, Euripides, *Orest.* v. 604.

Αἰεὶ γυναῖκες ἐμποδὼν ταῖς συμφοραῖς

Ἔφυσαν ἀνδρῶν, πρὸς τὸ δυσυχέστερον. TODD.

Ver. 1046. *Favour'd of Heaven, who finds &c.*] If Milton, like Solomon and the Son of Sirach, satirises the women in general, like them too he commends the virtuous and good; and

One virtuous, rarely found,  
 That in domestick good combines :  
 Happy that house ! his way to peace is smooth :  
 But virtue, which breaks through all opposition,  
 And all temptation can remove, 1051  
 Most shines, and most is acceptable above.

Therefore God's universal law  
 Gave to the man despotick power  
 Over his female in due awe, 1055  
 Nor from that right to part an hour,  
 Smile she or lour :  
 So shall he least confusion draw  
 On his whole life, not sway'd  
 By female usurpation, or dismay'd. 1060

But had we best retire ? I see a storm.

*Samf.* Fair days have oft contracted wind  
 and rain.

*Chor.* But this another kind of tempest brings.

*Samf.* Be less abstruse, my riddling days are  
 past. 1064

esteems a good wife a blessing from the Lord. See *Prov.* xviii. 22, xix. 14, and *Ecclus.* xxvi. 1, 2. NEWTON.

But he harshly esteems such an one a *rarity*, like the severe Grecian in his *Alceſtis*, v. 472—5. edit. Barnes. Yet Euripides has condescended to commend a *happy match* ; and the language is not dissimilar to this passage of Milton :

Γάμοι δ' ὅσοις μὲν εὖ καθεστᾶσι βροτῶν,  
 Μακάριος αἰὼν ὃς δὲ μὴ πίπτεσιν εὖ  
 Τά τ' ἔνδοι εἰσὶ, τάτε θύραζε δυσυχεῖς. TODD.

Ver. 1061. *But had we best retire ?*] Read “ *But we had best retire :*” or “ *But had n't we best retire ?*” SYMPSON.

*Chor.* Look now for no enchanting voice, nor  
fear

The bait of honied words ; a rougher tongue  
Draws hitherward ; I know him by his stride,  
The giant Harapha of Gath, his look  
Haughty, as is his pile high-built and proud.  
Comes he in peace ? what wind hath blown him  
hither

1070

I less conjecture than when first I saw  
The sumptuous Dalila floating this way :  
His habit carries peace, his brow defiance.

*Samf.* Or peace or not, alike to me he comes.

Ver. 1065. *Look now for no enchanting voice,*] Euripides,  
*Medea*, v. 773.

——— δέχου δὲ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους. TODD.

Ver. 1066. *The bait of honied words ;*] Dr. Johnson objects  
to the word *honied* : I will therefore shew that it was a common  
term in our old poetry : Thus in G. Wither's *Fidelia*, 1622.

“ His *honied words*, his bitter lamentations.”

Thus also Shakspeare, *K. Hen. V.* A. i. S. i.

——— “ his sweet and *honied sentences*.”

And Randolph's *Aristippus*, 1662. Prologue :

“ No candied flattery, nor *honied words*.”

It is also classical. The phrase “ *Mellitos verborum globulos*,”  
is in Petronius Arbiter ; and Milton has, “ *Mellitísque preces*,”  
*Eleg.* V. 68. The expression is frequent in Greek ; and Tasso,  
in his *Aminta*, A. i. S. ii. has “ *melate parole*.” See also Tit.  
*Andron.* A. iv. S. ult. which Milton had in his eye :

“ I will *enchant* the old Andronichus,

“ With *words more sweet*, and yet more dangerous,

“ Than *baits* to fish, or *honey-talks* to sheep.”

“ *Baited words*” is also a phrase in Quarles's *Samson*, 1632,  
p. 362. See also my note on *Comus*, v. 162. TODD.

*Chor.* His fraught we soon shall know, he  
now arrives. 1075

[Enter] *Harapha*.

*Har.* I come not, Samson, to condole thy  
chance,

As these perhaps, yet wish it had not been,  
Though for no friendly intent. I am of Gath;  
Men call me Harapha, of stock renown'd  
As Og, or Anak, and the Emims old 1080  
That Kiriathaim held; thou know'st me now,  
If thou at all art known. Much I have heard

Ver. 1075. *His fraught we soon shall know,*] For *fraught*,  
read *freight*. MEADOWCOURT.

But *fraught* was commonly used. Thus in *Tit. Andron.* A. iv. S. ii. "As the bark that hath discharg'd her *fraught*." And in *Othello*, A. iii. S. iii. "Swell bosom with thy *fraught*." Milton employs the word again in his *Apol. for Smectym.* "Till the attention be weary, or memory have it's full *fraught*." Many instances of the word might be given from the poets of Milton's time. TODD.

Ver. 1079. *Men call me Harapha, &c.*] This character is fictitious, but is properly introduced by the poet, and not without some foundation in Scripture. *Arapha*, or rather *Rapha*, (says Calmet) was father of the giants of *Rephaim*. The word *Rapha* may likewise signify simply a giant.

*Of stock renown'd as Og*; see *Deut.* iii. 11. *Or Anak, and the Emims old*; see *Deut.* ii. 10, 11. *That Kiriathaim held*; see *Gen.* xiv. 5. NEWTON.

Ver. 1081. ———— *thou know'st me now,*

*If thou at all art known.*] He is made to speak in the spirit and almost in the language of Satan, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 830.

"Not to know me argues yourselves unknown."

NEWTON.

Of thy prodigious might and feats perform'd,  
 Incredible to me, in this displeas'd,  
 That I was never present on the place 1085  
 Of those encounters, where we might have tried  
 Each other's force in camp or lifted field;  
 And now am come to see of whom such noise  
 Hath walk'd about, and each limb to survey,  
 If thy appearance answer loud report. 1090

*Samf.* The way to know were not to see but  
 taste.

*Har.* Dost thou already single me? I thought  
 Gyves and the mill had tam'd thee. O that  
 fortune

Had brought me to the field, where thou art  
 fam'd 1094

To have wrought such wonders with an ass's jaw!  
 I should have forc'd thee soon with other arms,  
 Or left thy carcass where the ass lay thrown:  
 So had the glory of prowess been recover'd  
 To Palestine, won by a Philistine, 1099  
 From the unforeskin'd race, of whom thou bear'st  
 The highest name for valiant acts; that honour,  
 Certain to have won by mortal duel from thee,

Ver. 1093. *Gyves*] Chains. So, in *Cymbeline*, A. v. S. iii.

————— "Must I repent?"

"I cannot do it better than in *gyves*."

And in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. v. st. 42.

"These hands were made to shake sharp spears and swords,

"Not to be tied in *gyves* &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 1102. ————— *by mortal duel*] An allusion to  
 the old *Duello* or single combat. See note on v. 1226. So

Cloſe, prevented by thy eyes put out.

*Samſ.* Boaſt not of what thou would'ſt have  
done, but do

What then thou would'ſt ; thou ſeeſt it in thy  
hand. 1105

*Har.* To combat with a blind man I diſdain,  
And thou haſt need much waſhing to be touch'd.

*Samſ.* Such uſage as your honourable lords  
Afford me, aſſaſinated and betray'd,  
Who durſt not with their whole united powers  
In fight withſtand me ſingle and unarm'd, 1111  
Nor in the houſe with chamber-ambuſhes  
Cloſe-banded durſt attack me, no, not ſleeping,  
Till they had hir'd a woman with their gold  
Breaking her marriage-faith to circumvent me.  
'Therefore, without feign'd ſhifts, let be aſſign'd  
Some narrow place enclos'd, where fight may  
give thee, 1117

Or rather flight, no great advantage on me ;  
'Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet

Drayton uſes the word in his *David and Goliath*, where Saul tells David, that Goliath was “ expert in all to *duels* that belong.” See alſo *Par. Reg.* B. i. 174. Samſon calls it “ the trial of *mortal fight*,” v. 1175 ; which is another phraſe in chivalry. Thus in Groue's *Hiſt. of Peſiſtratus and Catanea*, 1587, bl. l. of a combat :

“ The heralds' ſownd diſplayd,

“ The courſers meete with ſpeares, &c.

“ And thus the *mortall fight*.” TODD.

Ver. 1113. *Cloſe-banded*] Here in the ſenſe of *ſecretly leagued*, rather than in its uſual acceptation of *thick-ranged*.

JOHNSON.



And brigandine of brasse, thy broad habergeon,  
 Vant-brace and greves, and gauntlet, add thy  
     spear, 1121  
 A weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield;

Ver. 1120. *And brigandine of brasse, &c.*] *Brigandine*, a coat of mail. *Jer.* xlv. 4. "Furbish the spears, and put on the *brigandines*." See also li. 3. *Habergeon*, a coat of mail for the neck and shoulders, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vi. 29.

"Their mighty strokes their *habergeons* dismail'd,  
 "And naked made each others manly spalles :

*Spalles*, that is, shoulders. And see Fairfax, B. i. st. 72. *Vant-brace*, avant-bras, armour for the arms. So, in *Troil. and Cress.* A. i. S. vi. Nestor speaks :

"I'll hide my silver beard in a gold beaver,  
 "And in my *vantbrace* put this wither'd brawn."

And see Fairfax, B. xx. st. 139. *Greves*, armour for the legs. *I Sam.* xvii. 6. "And he had *greves* of brasse upon his legs." *Gauntlet*, an iron glove, *Hcn.* IV. P. 2. A. i. S. iii. Old Nurthumberland speaks :

—————"Hence therefore, thou nice crutch ;  
 "A scaly *gauntlet* now with joints of steel  
 "Must glove this hand." NEWTON.

Ver. 1121. ————— add *thy spear*,] This is Milton's own reading: The other editions have "*and thy spear*," which is not so proper; for it cannot well be said in construction, *put on thy spear*. NEWTON.

The reviser of Tonson's edition in 1747 had attended to the poet's text; for it reads "*add thy spear*." TODD.

Ver. 1122. *A weaver's beam*,] As the spear of Goliath was. Sylvester goes further, and says of Goliath's spear, *Du Bart.* ed. 1621. p. 414, "His lance a loom-beame or a *mast*." Milton says that Satan's spear was so large and lofty, that the *mast* of an *admiral's ship* was but a wand in comparison, *Par. L.* B. i. 293. Here Tasso has been quoted by the commentators, *Gier. Lib.* C. vi. 40. But the original is in Boiardo, L. i. C. ii. 52. Signat.

I only with an oaken staff will meet thee,  
 And raise such outcries on thy clatter'd iron,  
 Which long shall not withhold me from thy head,  
 That in a little time, while breath remains thee,  
 Thou oft shalt wish thyself at Gath, to boast  
 Again in safety what thou would'st have done  
 To Samson, but shalt never see Gath more.

*Har.* Thou durst not thus disparage glorious  
 arms, 1130

Which greatest heroes have in battle worn,  
 Their ornament and safety, had not spells  
 And black enchantments, some magician's art,  
 Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong, which thou  
 from Heaven 1134

B. iii. edit. 1527. The pagan giant Spinello appears on a horse of a monstrous magnitude, holding the *mast of a ship* for a spear :

“ Porta pur lanza un gran *fuslo d' antenna*.”

Spenser, a disciple of the Italian poets, has the same thought, F. Q. iii. vii. 40.

“ All were the beame in bignes like a *mast*.”

Perhaps it is first to be found in Ovid's Polypheme, *Met.* xiii. 782.

“ Cui postquam pinus, *baculi* quæ præbuit usum,

“ Ante pedes posita est, *antennis apta ferendis*.”

Or in Lucilius's Fragments, *Sat. Lib.* xv. 14. *Poet. Latin.* Maittair. tom. ii. p. 1499, of Homer's Polypheme :

————— “ et porro huic majus *bacillum*

“ Quàm *malus navis* in corbita *maximus ulla*.”

T. WARTON.

Ver. 1122. ————— *and seven-times-folded shield ;]* As was Ajax's. Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 2. “ Clypei dominus septemplicis.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 1134. *Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong,]* Mr. Thyer here observes, It is very probable that Milton adopted this no-

Feign'dst at thy birth was given thee in thy hair,  
Where strength can least abide, though all thy  
hairs

Were bristles rang'd like those that ridge the back  
Of chaf'd wild boars, or ruffled porcupines.

*Samf.* I know no spells, use no forbidden arts;  
My trust is in the living God, who gave me 1140

tion from the Italian Epicks, who are very full of enchanted arms, and sometimes represent their heroes invulnerable by this art. But, as Mr. Warton remarks, the poet's idea is immediately and particularly taken from the ritual of the combat in chivalry. See note on *Comus*, v. 647.—Samson replies,

“ I know no spells, use no forbidden arts;

“ My trust is in the living God”—

Here, it must be observed, is a direct allusion to the oath taken, before the judges of the combat, by the champions—“ I do swear, that I have not upon me, nor on any of the *arms* I shall use, words, *charms*, or *enchantments*, to which I trust for help to conquer my enemy, but that *I do only trust in God*, in my right, and in the strength of my body and arms.” Cockburn's *Hist. of Duels*, p. 115. The poet here says “ *black* enchantments,” in like manner as Machin, introducing the same ancient oath in his *Dumb Knight*, 1633. “ Here you shall swear &c.

“ That here you stand not *arm'd* with any guile

“ Of philters, *charms*, of night-spells, characters,

“ And other *black* infernal 'vantages.”

Milton's Harapha, as Mr. Warton observes, is as much a Gothick giant as any in Amadis de Gaul; and, like a Gothick giant, engages in an unjust cause against a virtuous champion.

Todd.

Ver. 1138. ————— or ruffled porcupines.] Who can doubt that Milton here had Shakspeare in mind? *Hamlet*, A. i. S. viii.

“ And each particular hair to stand on end,

“ Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.” NEWTON.

At my nativity this strength, diffus'd  
No less through all my sinews, joints, and bones,  
Than thine, while I preserv'd these locks unshorn,  
The pledge of my unviolated vow.

For proof hereof, if Dagon be thy God, 1145

Go to his temple, invoke his aid

With solemnest devotion, spread before him

How highly it concerns his glory now

To frustrate and dissolve these magick spells,

Which I to be the power of Israel's God 1150

Avow, and challenge Dagon to the test,

Offering to combat thee his champion bold,

With the utmost of his Godhead seconded :

Then thou shalt see, or rather, to thy sorrow, 1154

Soon feel, whose God is strongest, thine or mine.

*Har.* Presume not on thy God, whate'er he be ;

Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off

Quite from his people, and deliver'd up

Into thy enemies' hand, permitted them 1159

To put out both thine eyes, and fetter'd send thee

Into the common prison, there to grind

Among the slaves and asses thy comrades,

Ver. 1161. ————— *there to grind*

*Among the slaves and asses thy comrades,]* There can be no doubt that Milton had here Apuleius's description of a *pistrinum* in his mind. See *Met.* ix. ad init. where the ass, who is the speaker, says, "*Jam de meo jumentario contubernio quid, vel ad quem modum, memorem ?*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 1162. ————— *thy comrades,]* With the accent upon the last syllable as in *Hen.* IV. P. i. A. iv. S. ii.

" And his *comrades* that dash the world aside,

" And bid it pass." NEWTON.

As good for nothing else ; no better service  
 With those thy boisterous locks, no worthy match  
 For valour to assail, nor by the sword 1165  
 Of noble warriour, so to stain his honour,  
 But by the barber's razor best subdued.

*Samf.* All these indignities, for such they are  
 From thine, these evils I deserve, and more,  
 Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me 1170  
 Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon,  
 Whose ear is ever open, and his eye  
 Gracious to re-admit the suppliant :  
 In confidence whereof I once again  
 Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight, 1175  
 By combat to decide whose God is God,  
 Thine, or whom I with Israel's sons adore.

*Har.* Fair honour that thou dost thy God, in  
 trusting  
 He will accept thee to defend his cause,  
 A Murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber ! 1180  
*Samf.* Tongue-doughty Giant, how dost thou  
 prove me these ?

Ver. 1164. *With those thy boisterous locks,*] He uses *boisterous* in the same manner in his *Prose-Works*, vol. 1. ed. 1698, p. 411. "A *boisterous* and bestial strength." So, in ver. 569, Samson's locks are called *robustious*. TODD.

Ver. 1175. *Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight,*] Tasso, *Gier. Lib. C. ii.* 90.

"Ed a guerra mortal, disse, vi sfido." DUNSTER.

Ver. 1181. *Tongue-doughty Giant,*] Doughty, that is, *valiant*. See Skinner. *Γραύςτομος*, Æschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 617. RICHARDSON.

*Har.* Is not thy nation subject to our lords?  
 Their magistrates confess'd it, when they took thee  
 As a league-breaker, and deliver'd bound  
 Into our hands: for hadst thou not committed  
 Notorious murder on those thirty men 1186  
 At Ascalon, who never did thee harm,  
 Then like a robber stripp'dst them of their robes?  
 The Philistines, when thou hadst broke the league,  
 Went up with armed powers thee only seeking,  
 To others did no violence nor spoil. 1191

*Samf.* Among the daughters of the Philistines  
 I chose a wife, which argued me no foe;  
 And in your city held my nuptial feast:  
 But your ill-meaning politician lords, 1195  
 Under pretence of bridal friends and guests,

Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's *Pilgrim*, A. ii. S. iii.

"Leave your *tongue-valour*, and dispatch your haste."

And, as Mr. Dunster remarks, the *little French Lawyer* of the same authors, A. v. S. i.

"O brave *tongue-valiant* and vain-glorious woman."

See also *The Castle Combat*, 1635.

"Thou art nothing but *tongue-courage* now I see." Todd.

Ver. 1188. ———— *stripp'dst them of their robes?*] In the text of the Bible it is "took their *spoil*," but in the margin "*apparel*." It has been supposed, that it was at some festival, either in the fields or in the city, when great companies met together, and appeared in their best apparel. Todd.

Ver. 1196. Under pretence of *bridal friends*] The attendant young men at Samson's marriage, are said to have belonged to his wife's family, and not to have been, as was usual, his own relations or acquaintance. Josephus relates that, *under the pretence of honour*, they sent these thirty companions to watch over

Appointed to await me thirty spies,  
Who, threatening cruel death, constrain'd the  
    bride

'To wring from me, and tell to them, my secret,  
'That solv'd the riddle which I had propos'd. 1200

When I perceiv'd all set on enmity,  
As on my enemies, wherever chanc'd,  
I us'd hostility, and took their spoil,  
'To pay my underminers in their coin.

My nation was subjected to your lords; 1205  
It was the force of conquest; force with force  
Is well ejected when the conquer'd can.

But I, a private person, whom my country  
As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd  
Single rebellion, and did hostile acts. 1210  
I was no private, but a person rais'd

him, lest he should commit any disturbance. Quarles, in his  
*Hist of Samson*, 1632, p. 307, follows this notion :

“ They therefore, to prevent ensuing harmes,  
“ Gave strict command, that thirty men of armes,  
“ Vnde the maske of bridemen, should attend  
“ Vntill the nuptiall ceremonies end.”

*Bridal* is Saxon for *the nuptial feast*. See a variety of curious illustrations in Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 128, note f. Where the learned and ingenious writer observes, that the word has been applied adjectively, for *connubial*, and that Milton perhaps remembered or retained its original use in this passage, “ Under pretence of *bridal* friends;” that is, “ Under pretence of friends and guests invited to the *bridal*.” But he adds, that Milton, in *Par. Lost*, speaks of the evening star hastening to light the “ *bridal lamp*,” which in another part of the same poem he calls the “ *nuptial torch*.” B. viii. 520, B. xi. 590. TODD.

With strength sufficient, and command from  
Heaven,

To free my country ; if their fervile minds  
Me, their deliverer sent, would not receive,  
But to their masters gave me up for nought, 1215  
The unworthier they; whence to this day they  
serve.

I was to do my part from Heaven assign'd,  
And had perform'd it, if my known offence  
Had not disabled me, not all your force :  
These shifts refuted, answer thy appellant, 1220  
Though by his blindness maim'd for high at-  
tempts,

Who now defies thee thrice to single fight,  
As a petty enterprize of small enforce.

*Har.* With thee ! a man condemn'd, a slave  
inroll'd,

Due by the law to capital punishment ! 1225  
To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.

Ver. 1220. ————— *answer thy appellant,*] Thy  
*challenger*. The *defendant*, in like manner, signifies the *person*  
*challenged*. Thus, in Shakspeare's *K. Hen. VI.* P. ii. A. ii. S. iii.

“ This is the day appointed for the combat ;

“ And ready are the *appellant* and *defendant*,

“ The armourer and his man.” TODD.

Ver. 1222. *Who now defies thee thrice*] This was the custom  
and the law of arms, to give the challenge and to sound the  
trumpet *thrice*. In allusion to the same practice Edgar appears,  
to fight with the Bastard, *by the third sound of the trumpet*,  
*K. Lear*, A. v. S. vii. NEWTON.

Ver. 1226. *To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.*]   
Another allusion to the laws of the *Duello*, the old single-combat.



*Samf.* Cam'ſt thou for this, vain boafter, to  
ſurvey me,

To deſcant on my ſtrength, and give thy verdict?  
Come nearer; part not hence ſo flight inform'd;  
But take good heed my hand ſurvey not thee. 1230

*Har.* O Baal-zebub! can my ears unus'd  
Hear theſe diſhonours, and not render death?

*Samf.* No man withholds thee, nothing from  
thy hand

Fear I incurable; bring up thy van,  
My heels are fetter'd, but my fiſt is free. 1235

*Har.* This insolence other kind of answer fits.

*Samf.* Go, baffled coward! leſt I run upon thee,  
Though in theſe chains, bulk without ſpirit vaſt,

“ They are *not to be admitted prooſe by armes*, who haue committed any treaſon againſt their prince or cuntry, &c. To theſe we may alſo adde freebooters, and all ſuch as for any military diſorder are baniſhed. Likewiſe all theeves, robbers, ruſſians, tauerne-hunters, excommunicate perſons, hereticks, vſurers, and all other perſons, not liuing as a gentleman or a ſouldier: and in conſequence, all ſuch as are defamed for any defecte, and are not allowed for witneſſes in Ciuile law, &c. And of theſe I ſaye that not onely they are to bee reſuſed vpon challenging another man, but all honourable perſons or gentlemen ſhould abandon their companye, and *whoſocuer ſhould fight with them ſhould iniurie himſelfe, making himſelfe equall with diſhonourable perſons.*” Vincentio Saviolo, *Of Honor and honorable Quarrels*, interlaced with fundrie and pleaſant diſcourſes, not vnfit for all Gentlemen and Captaines that profeſſe arms, Lond. 1595, 4to. From the chapter, entitled, *Who is not to be admitted to the [Duello, or] prooſe of armes.* TODD.

Ver. 1231. O Baal-zebub!] He is properly made to invoke *Baal-zebub*, as afterwards to ſwear by *Aſtaroth*; that is, the deities of the Philiftines and neighbouring nations. NEWTON.

And with one buffet lay thy structure low,  
Or swing thee in the air, then dash thee down 1240  
To the hazard of thy brains and shatter'd sides.

*Har.* By Astaroth, ere long thou shalt lament  
These braveries, in irons loaden on thee. [*Exit.*]

*Chor.* His giantship is gone somewhat crest-  
fallen,  
Stalking with less unconscionable strides, 1245  
And lower looks, but in a fultry chafe.

*Samf.* I dread him not, nor all his giant brood,  
Though Fame divulge him father of five sons,  
All of gigantick size, Goliath chief.

*Chor.* He will directly to the lords, I fear, 1250  
And with malicious counsel stir them up  
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.

*Samf.* He must allege some cause, and offer'd  
fight

Ver. 1242. ——— ere long thou shalt lament

*These braveries, &c.*] This connects Harapha with the business of the drama, by making his revenge for the threatening and contemptuous language of Samson the cause, why the latter is to be brought before the publick assembly to make sport for them. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1248. *Though Fame divulge him*] So it plainly should be as Milton himself corrected it, and not *divulg'd* as it is in all the editions. NEWTON.

The error is corrected in Tonson's edit. of 1747. See also the note on *Paradise Reg.* B. iii. 60. TODD.

*Ibid.* ——— *father of five sons, &c.*] The story of Goliath of Gath is very well known; and the other four are mentioned II *Sam.* xxi. 15—22. "These four were born to the giant [or to *Harapha*] in Gath, and fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants." NEWTON.

Will not dare mention, lest a question rise  
Whether he durst accept the offer or not; 1255  
And, that he durst not, plain enough appear'd.  
Much more affliction than already felt  
They cannot well impose, nor I sustain;  
If they intend advantage of my labours,  
The work of many hands, which earns my  
    keeping 1260

With no small profit daily to my owners.  
But come what will, my deadliest foe will prove  
My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence;  
The worst that he can give, to me the best.  
Yet so it may fall out, because their end 1265  
Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine  
Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.

*Chor.* Oh how comely it is, and how reviving  
To the spirits of just men long oppress'd!  
When God into the hands of their deliverer 1270  
Puts invincible might  
To quell the mighty of the earth, the oppressour,  
The brute and boisterous force of violent men,  
Hardy and industrious to support  
Tyrannick power, but raging to pursue 1275  
The righteous and all such as honour truth;  
He all their ammunition  
And feats of war defeats,  
With plain heroick magnitude of mind  
And celestial vigour arm'd; 1280  
Their armouries and magazines contemns,  
Renders them useless; while

With winged expedition,  
 Swift as the lightning glance, he executes  
 His errand on the wicked, who, surpris'd, 1285  
 Lose their defence, distracted and amaz'd.

But patience is more oft the exercise  
 Of faints, the trial of their fortitude,  
 Making them each his own deliverer,  
 And victor over all 1290  
 That tyranny or fortune can inflict.  
 Either of these is in thy lot,  
 Samson, with might endued  
 Above the sons of men ; but fight bereav'd  
 May chance to number thee with those 1295  
 Whom patience finally must crown.

This idol's day hath been to thee no day of rest,  
 Labouring thy mind  
 More than the working day thy hands.  
 And yet perhaps more trouble is behind, 1300  
 For I descry this way  
 Some other tending ; in his hand  
 A scepter or quaint staff he bears,  
 Comes on amain, speed in his look.

Ver. 1283. *With winged expedition,*] From Shakspeare, perhaps. See *K. Rich. III. A. iv. S. iii.*

“ Then fiery *expedition* be my *wing*.” TODD.

Ver. 1284. *Swift as the lightning glance he executes His errand*] So, again in Shakspeare, *K. Rich. II. A. i. S. iii.*

“ Be swift like *lightning* in the *execution*.” TODD.

Ver. 1288. *Of faints,*] The fanatical language of the republican party. DUNSTER.

By his habit I discern him now 1305  
 A publick officer, and now at hand ;  
 His meſſage will be ſhort and voluble.

[Enter] *Officer*.

*Off.* Hebrews, the priſoner Samſon here I ſee.

*Chor.* His manacles remark him, there he ſits.

*Off.* Samſon, to thee our lords thus bid me ſay ;  
 'This day to Dagon is a ſolemn feaſt, 1311  
 With ſacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games :

Ver. 1309. ——— remark *him*,] *Distinguish* him, point him out. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1312. ——— ſacrifices, triumph, pomp, &c.] *Triumphs* are *Shows*, ſuch as maſks, revels, &c. See *L'Allegro*, v. 120, and the note there. Bacon has an Eſſay, "*Of Maſks and Triumphs*." Eſſ. xxxvii. And in his Eſſay, "*Of Buildings*," he directs a ſide of the houſe "for the Banquet, and a ſide for the Houſhold: the one for Feaſts and *Triumphs*, and the other for dwelling, &c." See alſo Eſſ. xlv. And in biſhop Fyſher's funeral or commemorative Sermon on Margaret counteſs of Richmond, edit. Baker, 1708, p. 29. "For when the kyng her ſon was crowned, in all that great *tryumphe* [ſhow] and glorye, ſhe wept merveylouſly; and lykewyſe at the grete *tryumphe* of the marryage of prynce Arthur, &c." In the ſame ſenſe we are to interpret Drayton, in the Epiſtle from king Edward to Jane Shore, v. i. p. 331.

"Where thou ſhalt ſit, and from thy ſtate ſhalt ſee

"The tilts and *triumphs* that are done for thee."

So alſo Jonſon, ſpeaking of court-follies to be exhibited in a Maſk, *Cynth Rev.* A. iv. S. vi.

—— "Holding true intelligence what follies

"Had crept into her palace, ſhee reſolv'd,

"Of *sports* and *triumphs* under the pretext,

"To have them muſter'd in their *pomp* and fulneſſe."

And Shakspeare, *Midſ. N. Dr.* A. i. S. i.

Thy strength they know surpassing human rate,  
And now some publick proof thereof require

“ But I will wed thee in another key,

“ With *pomp*, with *triumph*, and with revelling.”

Again, where a paraphrastick explanation of the word is added,  
*K. Hen. VI. P. iii. A. v. S. vii.*

“ And now what rests, but that we spend the time

“ With stately *triumphs*, mirthful comick shows,

“ Such as besit the pleasures of the court.”

And thus we perceive the precise meaning of Falstaff's humour to Bardolph. “ O, thou art a perpetual *triumph*, an everlasting bonfire-light.” *Pomp* has a peculiar and technical signification in some of these Shows of a romantick age. But I must further observe that Milton is often learned, when it is not suspected, and that both here and in other passages he has applied *pomp* in the appropriated sense which it bore to the Grecian festivals, where the ΠΟΜΠΗ, a principal part of the ceremony, was the spectacular procession. See ver. 435. of this tragedy. “ Great **POMP** and *sacrifice*.” And ver. 449. So, in *Par. Reg. B. i. 457*, where the subject is expressly Grecian; of the Delphick Apollo:

“ And thou no more with **POMP** and *sacrifice*

“ Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere.”

A *sacrifice*, mentioned also in the text, was another and a regular accompaniment of the Grecian festival. See Theocritus, *Idyll. ii. 68, 72*. And the notes on the Oxford edition, 1770, 4to. And in this *processional* sense, or under the idea of a solemn assembly, *pomp* is to be understood in *Par. Lost, B. vii. 564, viii. 61*. T. WARTON.

Ver. 1313. ————— rate,] In the first edition it was printed *racc*, but in the table of Errata we are desired to read *rate*. No wonder the first reading is followed in all the editions, when it is sense; for it would have been followed in all probability, though it had made nonsense. NEWTON.

I must exempt from this remark the edition of Tonson in 1747, which reads “ surpassing human *rate*. TODD.”

To honour this great feast, and great assembly; 1315  
 Rise therefore with all speed, and come along,  
 Where I will see thee hearten'd, and fresh clad,  
 To appear, as fits, before the illustrious lords.

*Samf.* Thou know'st I am an Hebrew, there-  
 fore tell them,

Our Law forbids at their religious rites 1320  
 My presence; for that cause I cannot come.

*Off.* This answer, be assur'd, will not content  
 them.

*Samf.* Have they not sword-players, and every  
 fort

Ver. 1323. *Have they not sword-players, &c.*] Milton has here introduced the usual attendants at the old Festivities of his own country. He here alludes perhaps, not without contempt, to the *holiday-sports*, so frequent in the early part of the seventeenth century, which were abolished by the puritans, but in part revived at the restoration of Charles II. See more on this subject in the note on v. 1418.

The *sword-players*, or gladiators, of the ancient stage, are often mentioned by Prynne in his *Histrio-mastix*, 1633. But Milton may mean *fencing-masters*, or professors of the "*noble science of defence*," who were accustomed to display their skill, on publick stages, in the exercise of various kinds of swords, and other weapons. See Mr. Stevens's Note on *Merry Wives of Windsor*. A. ii. S. i. Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. iii. p. 327. We are not to forget that *sword-dances* also were among the entertainments of the same period.

The *gymnick artists* are perhaps those who distinguished themselves, in the athletick exhibition of leaping, tumbling, and casting the bar, as well as of *wrestling*, and contending for the prize at horse-races and foot-races; *riding*, *running*.

The *juglers* were anciently included under the general name of *minstrels*: and were so called from the French *jongleur*, *jugleur*, Lat. *joculator*, *juglator*. See Dr. Percy's Essay on the ancient

Of gymnick artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,  
Juglers, and dancers, anticks, mummers, mi-  
micks,

1325

Minstrels, Reliq. of Anc. Poetry, vol. i. They sang, to their instruments, verses composed by themselves or others. Cotgrave calls them "*rimers*." They are often mentioned by our old historians. The ancient *wrestlers, mimes, dancers, gladiators, and gymnick artists* also, "*tota jocularum scena*," are cited from John of Salisbury, in Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 205. Milton, however, probably used the word here in the vulgar meaning of *jugglers*, i. e. those who practice slight of hand.

The *anticks* were buffoons in the old English farces, with a blacked face and a patch-work habit. See the commentators on *Much ado about Nothing*, A. iii. S. i. Milton illustrates the meaning of the word in his *Apol. Smectymn*. "In the colleges so many of the young divines, and those in next aptitude to divinity, have bin scene so often upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergie-limbs to all the *ANTICK and dishonest gestures of Trinculos, buffoons, and bawds*."

The *mummers* were a set of persons, who went about at Christmas, in disguise, to get money or good cheer. Thus in Stubbes's *Anatomic of Abuses*, bl. l. p. 111. b. "But especially in Christmas tyme there is nothing els vsed but Cardes, Dice, Tables, Maskyng, *Mumming*, Bowling, and such like fooleries." And Minshew says that the *mummers* were so called, because they made it a law among themselves, to say nothing but *mum*. See his *Guide into Tongues*, edit. 1627. See also the old *Tragicall Comedie of Damon and Pithias*, bl. l. 4to. Sign. C. i.

"Good faith, sir, concernynge the people they are not gay,

"And, as farre as I see, they be *MUMMERS*; for *nought they say*."

They appear to have been once a very formidable crew, by a statute enacted in the third year of Henry the 8th, concerning them: "Forasmuch as lately within this realm, divers persons have disguised and apparelled themselves, and covered their faces with visors or other things, in such manner as they should not be known; and divers of them in a company, naming themselves *mummers*, have come to the dwelling place of divers men of honour and substantial persons, and so departed unknown;



But they muſt pick me out, with ſhackles tir'd,  
And over-labour'd at their publick mill,  
To make them ſport with blind activity ?

whereupon murders, felony, rape, and other great hurts and inconveniences have afore-time grown, and hereafter be like to come by colour thereof, if the ſaid diſorder ſhould continue not reformed : Be it enacted &c.” The puniſhment is fine and impriſonment. Mr. Warton, in his note on *Comus*, v. 178, ſays the *munners* were called *waffailers*. In Wolſey's entertainment of Henry the 8th were introduced “maſquers and *munners*, in ſuch coſtly manner, that it was glorious to behold.” See Cavendiſh's *Mem. of Wolſey*, p. 31. The *maſquers* probably ſpoke in character ; the *munners* perhaps uſed only ſigns. See Shakſpeare, *Coriol.* A. ii. S. i. “If you chance to be pinched with the colick, *you make faces like MUMMERS.*” The *munners at Chriſtmas* ſtill make their appearance in ſome parts of England, particularly in the North, both with recitation and in theatrick garb.

The *mimicks* were ludicrous characters on the ſtage, not unlike the *Vice* of the old Engliſh drama, according to Minſheu. That they were *actors* is evident from Dekker's *Gul's Horne-booke*, 1609, p. 31, where inſtruction is given “*How a gallant ſhould behaue himſelfe in a Play-houſe*—No matter whether the ſcenes be good or no ; the better they are, the worſe do you diſtaſt them : and, being on your feete, ſneke not away like a coward, but ſalute all your gentle acquaintance, that are ſpred either on the ruſhes, or on ſtooles about you, and draw what troope you can from the ſtage after you : the *mimicks* are beholden to you, for allowing them elbow roome : their poet cries perhaps a pox go with you ; but care not you for that ; there's no muſick without frets !”

In the firſt edition it is printed *mimirs* ; and doctör Newton ſays, “What are *mimirs* ? The table of Errata to the firſt edition hath ſet us right, inſtructing us to read *mimicks* ; but not one of the editions hath followed it.” Yet Tonſon's edition of 1747 has followed it ; and ſo has a Dublin edition, by Grierson, in 1748. I think it curious to remark, that doctör Johnſon has given *mimir* a place in his Dictionary, as if it were a word of authority. TODD.

Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels  
 On my refusal to distress me more, 1330  
 Or make a game of my calamities?  
 Return the way thou cam'st, I will not come.

*Off.* Regard thyself; this will offend them  
 highly.

*Samf.* Myself? my conscience, and internal  
 peace.

Can they think me so broken, so debas'd 1335  
 With corporal servitude, that my mind ever  
 Will condescend to such absurd commands?  
 Although their drudge, to be their fool or jester,  
 And in my midst of sorrow and heart-grief  
 To show them feats, and play before their God,  
 The worst of all indignities, yet on me 1341  
 Join'd with extreme contempt? I will not come.

*Off.* My message was impos'd on me with speed,  
 Brooks no delay: is this thy resolution?

Ver. 1333. *Off.* Regard thyself; this will offend them highly.

*Samf.* Myself? my conscience, and internal peace.

*Can they think me so broken, &c.]* Compare  
 the advice of Mercury to Prometheus, Æschyl. *Prom. Vincit.*  
 v. 1041, edit. Schütz.

————— συ δὲ  
 Πάπταινε καὶ ψρόντιζε, μηδ' αὐθαδία  
 Εὐβελίας ἀμείνονι ἡγήσῃ ποτί.

The Chorus commend the propriety of this advice } but Prometheus, unmoved, exhibits the same sternness as Samson :

Εἰδότες τοι μοὶ τὰσδ' ἀγγελίας  
 'Οδ' ἐθάύξεν, πάσχειν δὲ κακῶς  
 'Εχθρὸν ἐπ' ἐχθρῶν, οὐδὲν ἀεικίης, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

*Samf.* So take it with what speed thy message  
needs. 1345

*Off.* I am sorry what this stoutness will pro-  
duce. [*Exit.*]

*Samf.* Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow  
indeed.

*Chor.* Consider, Samson; matters now are  
strain'd

Up to the highth, whether to hold or break :  
He's gone, and who knows how he may report  
Thy words by adding fuel to the flame? 1351  
Expect another message more imperious,  
More lordly thundering than thou well wilt bear.

*Samf.* Shall I abuse this consecrated gift  
Of strength, again returning with my hair 1355  
After my great transgression; so requite  
Favour renew'd, and add a greater sin  
By prostituting holy things to idols?  
A Nazarite in place abominable  
Vaunting my strength in honour to their Dagon!  
Besides, how vile, contemptible, ridiculous, 1361

Ver. 1347. *Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow indeed.*  
Here the catastrophe is anticipated, as before, v. 1266.

————— “ it may with mine  
“ Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.”

And such anticipations are usual with the best dramatick writers, who, knowing their own plan, open it by degrees, and drop such hints as cannot be perfectly comprehended, till they are fully explained by the event. The speaker himself can only be supposed to have some general meaning, and not a distinct conception of all the particulars; somewhat like the high-priest in the Gospel, who prophesied without his knowing it. NEWTON.

What act more execrably unclean, profane !

*Chor.* Yet with this strength thou serv'ſt the  
Philiftines,

Idolatrous, uncircumcis'd, unclean.

*Samſ.* Not in their idol-worſhip, but by labour  
Honeſt and lawful to deſerve my food 1366  
Of thoſe, who have me in their civil power.

*Chor.* Where the heart joins not, outward acts  
defile not.

*Samſ.* Where outward force conſtrains, the  
ſentence holds.

But who conſtrains me to the temple of Dagon,  
Not dragging? the Philiftian lords command. 1371

Commands are no conſtraints. If I obey them,  
I do it freely, venturing to diſpleaſe

God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,  
Set God behind : which in his jealouſy 1375  
Shall never, unrepented, find forgivenefs.

Yet that he may diſpenſe with me, or thee,  
Preſent in temples at idolatrous rites

For ſome important cauſe, thou need'ſt not  
doubt.

*Chor.* How thou wilt here come off ſurmounts  
my reach. 1380

*Samſ.* Be of good courage ; I begin to feel  
Some rouſing motions in me, which diſpoſe

Ver. 1377. *Yet that he may diſpenſe &c.*] Milton here probably had in view the ſtory of Naaman the Syrian begging a *diſpenſation* of this ſort from Eliſha, which he ſeemingly grants him. See II *Kings* v. 18, 19. THYER.

To something extraordinary my thoughts.  
 I with this messenger will go along,  
 Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonour 1385  
 Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.  
 If there be aught of presage in the mind,  
 This day will be remarkable in my life  
 By some great act, or of my days the last.

*Chor.* In time thou hast resolv'd, the man re-  
 turns. 1390

*Off.* Samson, this second message from our lords  
 To thee I am bid say. Art thou our slave,  
 Our captive, at the publick mill our drudge,  
 And dar'st thou at our sending and command  
 Dispute thy coming? come without delay; 1395  
 Or we shall find such engines to assail  
 And hamper thee, as thou shalt come of force,

Ver. 1384. *I with this messenger will go along,*] With what messenger? It was not expressly said before that the messenger was coming; it was implied indeed in what the Chorus had said,

“How thou wilt here come off surmounts my reach:”

And this might very well be understood by a man, who could see the messenger coming as well as the Chorus, but seems hardly a sufficient intimation to a blind man, unless we suppose him to know that the messenger was coming by the same impulse, that he felt rousing him to something extraordinary. NEWTON.

But the Chorus had also said, v. 1352, after the Officer is departed, “*Expect* another message more imperious, &c.” These words of Samson may perhaps be considered, therefore, as an *expectation* of the return of the Officer, and his determination how to act accordingly. TODD.

Ver. 1387. *If there be aught of presage in the mind,*] Euripides, *Andromache*, v. 1075.

——— *πρόμαντις θυμὸς ὡς τὶ προσδοκᾷ.* TODD.

Though thou wert firmlier fasten'd than a rock.

*Samf.* I could be well content to try their art,  
Which to no few of them would prove pernicious.  
Yet, knowing their advantages too many, 1401  
Because they shall not trail me through their streets  
Like a wild beast, I am content to go.

Masters' commands come with a power resistless  
To such as owe them absolute subjection; 1405  
And for a life who will not change his purpose?  
(So mutable are all the ways of men;)  
Yet this be sure, in nothing to comply  
Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.

*Off.* I praise thy resolution: doff these links:  
By this compliance thou wilt win the lords 1411  
To favour, and perhaps to set thee free.

Ver. 1404. *Master's commands &c.*] This was a feint; but it had betrayed itself had it not been covered by v. 1408.

. "Yet this be sure &c." WARBURTON.

But this last passage must have been intended by the author to be addressed only to the Chorus: The Officer certainly answers Samson's speech, as if he had not heard these words. And as to the verses 1404 and 1405 before us, they are in fact so far from being a feint, that they are marked with the most indignant spirit of irony; indeed so palpable, as to require what follows (*And for a life &c.*) to soften it down to the messenger.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 1410. *I praise thy resolution:*] That is, of going; not what he had said last. RICHARDSON.

*Ibid.* ————— doff *these links:*] Put off *these links*. He uses this old word in his *Ode on the Nativ.* ver. 33. Thus Shakspeare, *Troil. and Cress.* A. v. S. iii. "Doff thy harness, youth." And Spenser, *Facr. Qu.* v. vi. 23. "Ne doffe her armes, though he her much befought." TODD.

*Samf.* Brethren, farewell; your company along  
 I will not wish, lest it perhaps offend them  
 To see me girt with friends; and how the sight  
 Of me, as of a common enemy, 1416  
 So dreaded once, may now exasperate them,  
 I know not: lords are lordliest in their wine;  
 And the well-feasted priest then soonest fir'd  
 With zeal, if aught religion seem concern'd; 1420  
 No less the people, on their holy-days,  
 Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable:

Ver. 1418. ——— lords are lordliest in their wine;  
 And the well-feasted priest then soonest fir'd  
 With zeal, if aught religion seem concern'd;  
 No less the people, on their holydays,  
 Impetuous, insolent, &c.] Milton here insinuates,

that *holy-days* are of heathen institution. The passage is a concealed attack on the church of England. But he first expresses his contempt of a Nobility, and an opulent Clergy, that is, Lords both spiritual and temporal, who by no means coincided with his levelling and narrow principles of republicanism and calvinism; and whom he tacitly compares with the lords and priests of the idol Dagon. T. WARTON.

In a passage concerning *holy-days*, he had before openly compared the Clergy to the “hireling priest Balaam, seeking to draw the Israelites from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald *feasts* of Baal-peor.” *Of Reformation*, 1641, B. ii. This was written, while the controversy subsisted between the calvinists and the hierarchy, respecting the liberty which the book, published by the bishops in 1618, entitled “A Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord’s Day,” had given to the country-people, in the exercise of their rural diversions on Sundays after divine service, and on *holy-days*. These, says Mr. Warton, were Dancing, Archery, Leaping, Vaulting, and other similar harmless games. Prynne had pronounced the holy-day celebrities “a damnable custome taken from the Pagans,” *Histrio-Mastix*, 1633, p. 222, and “*heathenish pastimes*,” p. 240.

Happen what may, of me expect to hear  
 Nothing dishonourable, impure, unworthy  
 Our God, our Law, my Nation, or myself, 1425  
 The last of me or no I cannot warrant.

*Chor.* Go, and the Holy One  
 Of Israel be thy guide  
 To what may serve his glory best, and spread his  
 Name

Great among the Heathen round ; 1430  
 Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand  
 Fast by thy side, who from thy father's field  
 Rode up in flames after his message told  
 Of thy conception, and be now a shield

Jonson points at these "*sower sort* of shepherds," it has been remarked, in his *Sad Shepherd*, 1640. A. i. S. iv.

"They call ours *Pagan pastimes*, that infect

"Our blood with ease, &c."

I cite the passage which precedes Milton's comparison already given. "That men should be pluck't from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by *bishops*, the pretended fathers of the Church, instigated by *publick edict* [The Book of Sports], and with earnest endeavour pusht forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixt dancing, is a horror to think." *Of Ref.* ut suprà. By the way, *mixt dancing* seems to have given great offence to the puritans: Stubbs, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, had particularly noticed the *unlawfulness* of dauncing of men and women together," p. 103. b. And Prynne repeatedly reprobates "the *mixt dancing* at Church-Ales and Maypoles, &c." in his *Histrion-Mastix*. Hence we perceive the meaning in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 768.

—————"court-amours,

"*Mix'd dance*, or wanton mask, or midnight ball. TODD.

Ver. 1434. ———— and be now a shield

Of fire;] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*,  
 ver. 658. TODD.



Of fire; that Spirit, that first rushed on thee 1435  
In the camp of Dan,  
Be efficacious in thee now at need!  
For never was from Heaven imparted  
Measure of strength so great to mortal feed, 1439  
As in thy wondrous actions hath been seen.—  
But wherefore comes old Manoah in such haste  
With youthful steps? much livelier than ere while  
He seems; supposing here to find his son,  
Or of him bringing to us some glad news?

[Enter] *Manoah*.

*Man.* Peace with you, Brethren; my inducement hither 1445

Was not at present here to find my son,  
By order of the lords now parted hence  
To come and play before them at their feast.  
I heard all as I came, the city rings,  
And numbers thither flock: I had no will, 1450  
Left I should see him forc'd to things unseemly.  
But that, which mov'd my coming now, was  
chiefly

To give ye part with me what hope I have  
With good success to work his liberty.

*Chor.* That hope would much rejoice us to partake 1455

With thee; say, reverend Sire, we thirst to hear.

*Man.* I have attempted one by one the lords  
Either at home, or through the high street passing,  
With supplication prone and father's tears,

To accept of ransom for my son their prisoner. 1460  
 Some much averse I found and wonderous harsh,  
 Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite;  
 That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests:  
 Others more moderate seeming, but their aim  
 Private reward, for which both God and State 1465  
 They easily would set to sale: a third  
 More generous far and civil, who confess'd  
 They had enough reveng'd; having reduc'd  
 Their foe to misery beneath their fears,  
 The rest was magnanimity to remit, 1470  
 If some convenient ransom were propos'd.  
 What noise or shout was that? it tore the sky.

*Chor.* Doubtless the people shouting to behold  
 Their once great dread, captive, and blind before  
 them, 1474

Or at some proof of strength before them shown.

*Man.* His ransom, if my whole inheritance

Ver. 1463. *That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests:]* Milton, I doubt not, in this place indulges that inveterate spleen, which he always had against publick and established religion. He might also perhaps, in this description of Manoah's application for Samson's deliverance, glance at his own case after the Restoration. THYER.

Ver. 1464. *Others more moderate seeming, &c.]* The Presbyterian party, who had joined the royalists and courtiers.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 1472. ————— *it tore the sky.]* So, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 542.

“ A shout that tore hell's concave.”

Which Pope has copied, *Iliad* xiii. 1059.

“ A shout that tore heaven's concave.” TONN.

May compass it, shall willingly be paid  
 And number'd down: much rather I shall choofe  
 'To live the pooreft in my tribe, than richeft,  
 And he in that calamitous prifon left. 1480  
 No, I am fix'd not to part hence without him.  
 For his redemption all my patrimony,  
 If need be, I am ready to forego  
 And quit: not wanting him, I fhall want nothing.

*Chor.* Fathers are wont to lay up for their fons,  
 'Thou for thy fon art bent to lay out all; 1486  
 Sons wont to nurfe their parents in old age,  
 'Thou in old age car'ft how to nurfe thy fon,  
 Made older than thy age through eye-fight loft.

*Man.* It fhall be my delight to tend his eyes,  
 And view him fitting in the houfe, ennobled 1491  
 With all thofe high exploits by him achiev'd,  
 And on his fhoulders waving down thofe locks  
 'That of a nation arm'd the ftrength contain'd:

Ver. 1490. *It fhall be my delight &c.*] The character of a fond parent is extremely well fupported in the perfon of Manoah quite through the whole performance; but there is in my opinion fomething particularly natural and moving in this fpeech. The circumftance of the old man's feeding and foothing his fancy with the thoughts of tending his fon, and contemplating him, ennobled with fo many famous exploits, is vaftly expreffive of the doating fondnefs of an old father. Nor is the poet lefs to be admired for his making Manoah, under the influence of this pleafing imagination, go on ftill further, and flatter himfelf even with the hopes of God's reftoring his eyes again. Hope as naturally arifes in the mind in fuch a fituation, as doubts and fears do when it is overclouded with gloominefs and melancholy. *TYLER.*

Ver. 1494. *That of a nation arm'd the ftrength contain'd:]*  
 So Ovid, of Nifus, *Met.* viii. 8.

And I persuade me, God had not permitted 1495  
 His strength again to grow up with his hair,  
 Garrison'd round about him like a camp  
 Of faithful soldiery, were not his purpose  
 To use him further yet in some great service ;  
 Not to sit idle with so great a gift 1500  
 Useless, and thence ridiculous about him.  
 And since his strength with eye-sight was not lost,  
 God will restore him eye-sight to his strength.

*Chor.* Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor seem  
 vain

Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon 1505  
 Conceiv'd, agreeable to a father's love,  
 In both which we, as next, participate.

*Man.* I know your friendly minds and—O  
 what noise !—

————— “ cui splendidus ostro

“ Inter honoratos medio de vertice canos

“ *Crinis inhærebat, magni fiducia regni.*” TORD.

Ver. 1504. *Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor seem vain*

*Of his delivery,*] This is very proper and becoming the gravity of the Chorus, as much as to intimate that his other hopes were fond and extravagant. And the art of the poet cannot be sufficiently admired in raising the hopes and expectations of his persons to the highest pitch, just before the dreadful catastrophe. How great and how sudden is the change from good to bad ! The one renders the other more striking and affecting. NEWTON.

Ver. 1508. ————— *and—O what noise ! &c.*] It must be very pleasing to the reader to observe with what art and judgement Milton prepares him for the relation of the catastrophe of this tragedy. This abrupt start of Manoah upon hearing the hideous noise, and the description of it by the Chorus in their

Mercy of Heaven! what hideous noise was that?  
Horribly loud, unlike the former shout. 1510

*Chor.* Noise call you it, or universal groan,  
As if the whole inhabitation perish'd!  
Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noise,  
Ruin, destruction at the utmost point.

*Man.* Of ruin indeed methought I heard the  
noise: 1515

Oh! it continues, they have slain my son.

*Chor.* Thy son is rather slaying them; that  
outcry

answer, in terms so full of dread and terrour, naturally fill the mind with a presaging horror proper for the occasion. This is still kept up by their suspense and reasoning about it, and at last raised to a proper pitch by the frightened and distracted manner of the Messenger's coming in, and his hesitation and backwardness in telling what had happened. What gives it the greater strength and beauty is the sudden transition from that soothing and flattering prospect, with which Manoah was entertaining his thoughts to a scene so totally opposite. *TYLER.*

Nothing can be more impressive, more calculated to excite pity, than the revolution of Samson's fate, which is now developed. For, as a learned writer observes, "while every thing appears tending to *his release*, a horrible crash announces *his destruction*." See Harris's *Philolog. Inq.* Part ii. p. 209. *TODD.*

Ver. 1512. ————— *inhabitation*] Οἰκισμένη.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1513. *Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noise,*] Like the reply of the Chorus to Electra in the tragedy of that name by Euripides, on her inquiring concerning the dreadful noise they had heard, ver. 752. edit. Barnes.

Οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἐν, ΦΟΝΙΟΝ ΟΙΜΩΓΗΝ κλέω. *TODD.*

Ver. 1514. ————— *at the utmost point.*] Al. ultimo segno. *RICHARDSON.*

From slaughter of one foe could not ascend.

*Man.* Some dismal accident it needs must be ;  
What shall we do, stay here or run and see ? 1520

*Chor.* Best keep together here, lest, running  
thither,

We unawares run into danger's mouth.

This evil on the Philistines is fallen ;

From whom could else a general cry be heard ;

The sufferers then will scarce molest us here ; 1525

From other hands we need not much to fear.

What if, his eye-sight (for to Israel's God

Nothing is hard) by miracle restor'd,

He now be dealing dole among his foes,

Ver. 1521. *Best keep together here, lest, &c.*] In this passage, as is constantly the practice of Sophocles and Euripides, a reason is assigned for the Chorus continuing on the stage. There should always be a reason for the exit and entrance of every person in the drama. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 1527. *What if, his eye-sight &c.*] The Chorus here entertains the same pleasing hope of Samson's *eye-sight* being *by miracle restored*, which he had before tacitly reproved in Manoah ; and Manoah, who had before encouraged the same hope in himself, now desponds, and reckons it *presumptuous* in another. Such changes of our thoughts are natural and common, especially in any change of our situation and circumstances. Fear and hope usually succeed each other, like ague and fever. And it was not a slight observation of mankind, that could have enabled Milton to have understood, and described, the human passions so exactly. NEWTON.

Ver. 1529. *He now be dealing dole among his foes,*] See Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, p. 10.

“ The Centaures shew them valorous, so did Ixion stout,

“ And braue Gany'medes did *deale* his balefull *dole* about.”

And over heaps of slaughter'd walk his way? 1530

*Man.* That were a joy presumptuous to be  
thought.

*Chor.* Yet God hath wrought things as incredible

For his people of old; what hinders now?

*Man.* He can, I know, but doubt to think he  
will;

Yet hope would fain subscribe, and tempts belief.  
A little stay will bring some notice hither. 1536

Again, in the translation of *Orlando Innamorato*, three first books, 1598, where the phrase is applied to a warrior:

“ Thus Ferraw, brauo-like, doth *deale his dole*.”

Again, in Edm. Eluiden's metrical *Historie of Pessihratus and Cutanea*, 12mo. bl. l. imprint. at Lond. by H. Bynneman:

“ To view the desperate *dole* of force,

“ And fiercenesse of their fight.”

Nor is Spenser's description dissimilar, *Faer. Qu.* v. xi. 45.

“ *Dealing his dreadfull blowes with large dispence,*

“ Gainst which the pallid death finds no defence.”

And in the next line, from the description of Talus by Spenser in the same book, C. vii. st. 36, there appears to be a remembrance

————— “ of the *heaps* which he did make

“ Of *slaughter'd* carcases.” TODD.

Ver. 1536. *A little stay will bring some notice hither.*] The text of the first edition wants the nine lines preceding this, and the line that follows it: but they are supplied in the Errata. This line, in that edition, is in the part of the Chorus, as I think it ought to be: and so is the next but one, in that and all the editions; though it seems to belong rather to Manoah. The line between them, which is wanting (as I just now observed) in the text of the first edition, is given, in the Errata and in all

*Chor.* Of good or bad so great, of bad the  
 sooner ;  
 For evil news rides post, while good news bates.  
 And to our wish I see one hither speeding,  
 An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe. 1540

[Enter] *Messenger.*

*Mess.* O whither shall I run, or which way fly  
 The sight of this so horrid spectacle,  
 Which erst my eyes beheld, and yet behold ?  
 For dire imagination still pursues me.  
 But providence or instinct of nature seems, 1545  
 Or reason though disturb'd, and scarce consulted,  
 To have guided me aright, I know not how,  
 To thee first, reverend Manoah, and to these  
 My countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,  
 As at some distance from the place of horror,

the editions since, to the Chorus; but the poet certainly intended both them and Manoah a share in it.

*Chor.* " A little stay will bring some notice hither  
 " Of good or bad so great.

*Man.* Of bad the sooner !  
 " For evil news rides post, while good news bates.

*Chor.* " And to our wish I see one hither speeding,  
 " An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe."

CALTON.

Ver. 1538. *For evil news rides post,*] So, in Statius:

" Spargitur in turmas solito pernicios index

" Cum lugenda refert." TODD.

Ver. 1541. *O whither &c.*] Compare the introduction and exclamation of the messenger in the *Perseæ* of Æschylus, and in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. TODD.



So in the sad event too much concern'd. 1551

*Man.* The accident was loud, and here before  
thee

With rueful cry, yet what it was we hear not ;  
No preface needs, thou see'st we long to know.

*Mess.* It would burst forth, but I recover breath  
And sense distract, to know well what I utter.

*Man.* Tell us the sum, the circumstance describ'd.

*Mess.* Gaza yet stands, but all her sons are  
fallen,

All in a moment overwhelm'd and fallen.

*Man.* Sad, but thou know'st to Israelites not  
saddest

1560

The desolation of a hostile city.

Ver. 1552. ————— and here before thee] Here again the old error was carefully preserved through all the editions. In the first edition it was printed "and heard before thee;" but we have corrected it, as Milton himself corrected it in the table of Errata, to which correction as well as the rest no regard was paid in any edition, though it improves the sense greatly. NEWTON.

Yet the edition of 1747, by Tonson, had, in most instances of error, paid regard to Milton's corrections; and now reads "and here before thee." TODD.

Ver. 1554. No preface needs,] No preface is wanting. Needs is a verb neuter here, as in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 30. Where see the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 1556. And sense distract,] The word is used likewise as an adjective in Shakspeare. *Jul. Cæs.* A. iv. S. iv.

————— "with this she fell distract,

"And (her attendants absent) swallow'd fire."

And in *Twelfth Night*, A. v. S. v. NEWTON.

*Mess.* Feed on that first; there may in grief  
be surfeit.

*Man.* Relate by whom.

*Mess.* By Samson.

*Man.* That still lessens  
The sorrow, and converts it nigh to joy. 1564

*Mess.* Ah! Manoah, I refrain too suddenly  
To utter what will come at last too soon;  
Lest evil tidings with too rude irruption  
Hitting thy aged ear should pierce too deep.

*Man.* Suspense in news is torture, speak them  
out.

*Mess.* Take then the worst in brief, Samson is  
dead. 1570

Ver. 1562. *Feed on that first; there may in grief be surfeit.*] Compare the Song in the old comedy of *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, 4to. 1589. bl. letter;

"Goe walke the path of plaint, goe wander wretched now,  
"In vncloth waies, blind corners, fit for such a wretch as thou:  
"There feede vpon thy woe; fresh thoughts shalbe thy fare,  
"Muling shalbe thy waiting maide, thy carver shalbe Care."

And Shakspeare, *Two Gent. Veron.* A. iii. S. i.

—————"I have fed upon this woe already,  
"And now excess of it will make me surfeit."

Thus also Carew, in his *Verses to the Countess of Anglesea*:

"Yet since you surfeit on your grief, 'tis fit  
"I tell the world &c."

Petrarch has the expression "*Pascomi di dolor*," *Sonet.* civ. parte 1<sup>ma</sup>. TODD.

Ver. 1565. ————— *I refrain &c.*] The reader cannot fail to observe, and to feel, the art of the poet in very gradually unfolding the catastrophe. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 1570. ————— *Samson is dead.*] With the

*Man.* The worst indeed ! O all my hopes defeated

To free him hence ! but death, who sets all free,  
Hath paid his ransom now and full discharge.  
What windy joy this day had I conceiv'd  
Hopeful of his delivery, which now proves 1575  
Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring

affecting brevity of Homer, *Κεῖται Πάτροκλος*. See also the *Electra* of Sophocles, *Τέθνηκ' Ὀρεστης κ. τ. λ.* TODD.

Ver. 1576. *Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring &c.*] As Mr. Thyer says, this similitude is to be admired for its remarkable justness and propriety : One cannot possibly imagine a more exact and perfect image of the dawning hope, which Manoah had conceived from the favourable answer he had met with from some of the Philistian lords, and of its being so suddenly extinguished by this return of ill fortune, than that of the early bloom, which the warmth of a few fine days frequently pushes forward in the spring, and then it is cut off by an unexpected return of winterly weather. As Mr. Warburton observes this beautiful passage seems to be taken from Shakspeare, *Henry VIII.* A. iii. S. ii.

- " This is the state of man ; To-day he puts forth
- " The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms,
- " And bears his blushing honours thick upon him :
- " The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost ;
- " And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
- " His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root ;
- " And then he falls, as I do."—

Upon which Mr. Warburton remarks, that as spring-frosts are not injurious to the *roots* of fruit-trees, he should imagine the poet wrote *shoot*, that is, the tender *shoot* on which are the young *leaves* and *blossoms*. The comparison, as well as expression of *nips*, is juster too in this reading. Shakspeare has the same thought in *Love's Labour Lost*.

- " Byron is like an envious sneaping frost,
- " That bites the first-born infants of the spring."

NEWTON.

Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's frost !  
 Yet ere I give the reins to grief, say first,  
 How died he ; death to life is crown or shame.  
 All by him fell, thou say'st ; by whom fell he ?  
 What glorious hand gave Samson his death's  
 wound ? 1581

*Mess.* Unwounded of his enemies he fell.

*Man.* Wearied with slaughter then, or how ?  
 explain.

*Mess.* By his own hands.

*Man.* Self-violence ? what cause  
 Brought him so soon at variance with himself  
 Among his foes ? 1586

*Mess.* Inevitable cause  
 At once both to destroy, and be destroy'd ;  
 The edifice, where all were met to see him,  
 Upon their heads and on his own he pull'd.

*Man.* O lastly over-strong against thyself !  
 A dreadful way thou took'st to thy revenge. 1591  
 More than enough we know ; but while things yet  
 Are in confusion, give us, if thou canst,  
 Eye-witness of what first or last was done,  
 Relation more particular and distinct. 1595

*Mess.* Occasions drew me early to this city ;

See also *Titus Andronicus*, A. iv. S. iv.

“ These tidings nip me, and I hang the head

“ As flowers with frost, or grass beat down with storms.”

TODD.

Ver. 1596. *Occasions drew me early &c.*] As I observed  
 before, that Milton had, with great art, excited the reader's  
 attention to this grand event. so here he is no less careful to

And, as the gates I enter'd with fun-rife,  
 'The morning trumpets festival proclaim'd  
 'Througheach high street: little I had despatch'd,  
 When all abroad was rumour'd that this day  
 Samson should be brought forth, to show the  
                   people 1601

Proof of his mighty strength in feats and games ;  
 I sorrow'd at his captive state, but minded  
 Not to be absent at that spectacle.

The building was a spacious theatre 1605  
 Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high,

gratify it by the relation. It is circumstantial, as the importance of it required, but not so as to be tedious or too long to delay our expectation. It would be found difficult, I believe, to retrench one article without making it defective, or to add one which should not appear redundant. The picture of Samson in particular *with head inclin'd and eyes fix'd*, as if he was addressing himself to that God, who had given him such a measure of strength, and was summing up all his force and resolution, has a very fine effect upon the imagination. Milton is no less happy in the sublimity of his description of this grand exploit, than judicious in the choice of the circumstances preceding it. The poetry rises as the subject becomes more interesting; and one may without rant or extravagance say, that the poet seems to exert no less force of genius in describing, than Samson does strength of body in executing. THYER.

Ver. 1604. ——— *absent at that spectacle.*] The language would be more correct, if it was “ *absent from that spectacle.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 1605. *The building was a spacious theatre*

*Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high, &c.]*

Milton has finely accounted for this dreadful catastrophe, and has with great judgement obviated the common objection. It is commonly asked, how so great a building, containing so many thousands of people, could rest upon two pillars so near placed

With feats where all the lords, and each degree  
 Of fort, might fit in order to behold ;  
 The other side was open, where the throng  
 On banks and scaffolds under sky might stand ;  
 I among these aloof obscurely stood. 1611

The feast and noon grew high, and sacrifice  
 Had fill'd their hearts with mirth, high cheer,  
 and wine,

When to their sports they turn'd. Immediately  
 Was Samson as a publick servant brought, 1615  
 In their state livery clad ; before him pipes  
 And timbrels, on each side went armed guards,  
 Both horse and foot, before him and behind  
 Archers, and slingers, cataphracts, and spears.

together and to this it is answered, that instances are not wanting of far more large and capacious buildings than this, that have been supported only by one pillar. Particularly, Pliny in the 15th chapter of the 36th book of his natural history, mentions two theatres built by one C. Curio, who lived in Julius Cæsar's time ; each of which was supported only by one pillar, or pin, or hinge, though very many thousands of people did sit in it together. See Poole's *Annotations*. Mr. Thyer further adds, that Dr. Shaw, in his *Travels*, observing upon the eastern method of building says, that the place where they exhibit their diversions at this day is an advanced cloyster, made in the fashion of a large penthouse, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else at the center ; and that, upon a supposition therefore that, in the house of Dagon, there was a cloistered structure of this kind, the pulling down the front or center pillars only which supported it would be attended with the like catastrophe that happened to the Philistines. See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 283. NEWTON.

[Ver. 1619. *Archers*,] The poet introduces *archers* into the procession ; as the invention of the bow and arrow is ascribed to the Philistines. See *The Univ. Hist.* TODD.

At fight of him the people with a shout 1620  
 Rifted the air, clamouring their God with praise,  
 Who had made their dreadful enemy their thrall.  
 He patient, but undaunted, where they led him,  
 Came to the place; and what was set before him,  
 Which without help of eye might be assay'd, 1625  
 'To heave, pull, draw, or break, he still perform'd  
 All with incredible, stupendious force;  
 None daring to appear antagonist.  
 At length for intermission sake they led him  
 Between the pillars; he his guide requested 1630  
 (For so from such as nearer stood we heard)  
 As over-tir'd to let him lean a while  
 With both his arms on those two massy pillars,  
 That to the arched roof gave main support. 1634

Ver. 1619. ————— [*cataphracts*] That is, men and horses in armour. "*Cataphracti equites dicuntur, qui et ipse ferro muniti sunt, et equos similiter munitos habent.*" Servius in *Virg. Aen.* xi. 770. The word had been before employed in English poetry. See Lisle's *Farie Æthiopian*, 4to. 1631, p. 150.

"The archers follow nimble, and arm'd light—

"And after them came other bowes, and slings, &c.

"His strong phalanges march on either side;

"And troopes of *cataphracts* before him ride." TODD.

Ver. 1627. ————— [*stupendious*] The old word, preserved here in Milton's own edition, as also in *Par. L. B.* x. 351. So, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607, p. 238.

"The same, with other like *stupendious* deeds,

"He put in practice &c." TODD.

Ver. 1634. *That to the arched roof gave &c.*] Milton, we see, retains, in his last production, his early attachment to this kind of ancient architecture. Thus, in his *Ode Nativ.* st. xix. "Runs through the *arched roof* &c." Again, in *Il Pens.* v. 157.

He, unsuspicious, led him ; which when Samson  
 Felt in his arms, with head a while inclin'd,  
 And eyes fast fix'd he stood, as one who pray'd,  
 Or some great matter in his mind revolv'd :  
 At last with head erect thus cried aloud ; 1639  
 " Hitherto, Lords, what your commands impos'd  
 " I have perform'd, as reason was, obeying,  
 " Not without wonder or delight beheld :  
 " Now of my own accord such other trial  
 " I mean to show you of my strength, yet  
     " greater, 1644  
 " As with amaze shall strike all who behold."  
 This utter'd, straining all his nerves he bow'd ;

" And love the high *embowed roof*." See also *Par. Lost*, B. i. 726. " From the *arched roof* &c." I must observe, however, that Quarles, in his poetical *Hist. of Samson*, relates the same circumstance of the building in which Samson displayed his strength, and fell, edit. 1632, p. 378.

—————" her *arched roof* was all  
 " Builded with massie stone." TODD.

Ver. 1637. *And eyes fast fix'd he stood*,] Samson having had his eyes put out, this only means to describe his attitude, by his countenance being fixed on the ground, as it must be when " his head was inclined." *Eyes fast fix'd* is a classical phrase. Hom. Il. γ. 218. κατὰ χόλον OMMATA ΠΗΞΑΣ. And see Ovid, *Epist. Her.* vi. 26. The exact expressions of *head inclin'd* and *eyes fast fix'd* occur in Persius, *Sat.* iii. 79.

—————" non ego curo  
 " Esse quod Arcefilas, ærumnosique Solones  
 " *Obstipo capite et figentes lumine terrain*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 1645. *As with amaze shall strike* &c.] I am not without a painful suspicion, that there is an intended pun in the word *strike*. It too much resembles the language of the evil angels, in



As with the force of winds and waters pent,  
When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars  
With horrible convulsion to and fro  
He tugg'd, he shook, till down they came and  
drew

The whole roof after them, with burst of  
thunder

Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,  
 Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests,  
 Their choice nobility and flower, not only  
 Of this but each Philistian city round, 1655  
 Met from all parts to solemnize this feast.  
 Samson, with these immix'd, inevitably  
 Pull'd down the same destruction on himself;  
 The vulgar only 'scap'd who stood without.

*Chor.* O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious!

the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*, on producing their artillery and witnessing the successful effect of it. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1647. *As with the force of winds and waters pent,  
When mountains tremble,]* Compare the simile in  
*Par. Lost*, B. vi. 195, &c. TODD.

Ver. 1649. *With horrible convulsion*] In several editions it is printed *confusion*, but Mr. Thyer, Mr. Sympfon, and every body, saw that it should be *convulsion*; and so, it is in Milton's own edition: And in the next line it should not be "He tugg'd, he took," as it is absurdly in some editions, but "He tugg'd, he *shook*," as in the first edition. NEWTON.

Both the errors, noticed in the preceding remark, are rectified in Tonson's edition of 1747. Topp.

Ver. 1660. *O dearly-bought revenge, &c.*] It is judicious to make the Chorus and Semi-Chorus speak after this dreadful account of Samson's death, and not his father Manoah, who makes

Living or dying thou hast fulfill'd 1661  
 The work for which thou wast foretold  
 To Israel, and now ly'st victorious  
 Among thy slain self-kill'd,  
 Not willingly, but tangled in the fold 1665  
 Of dire necessity, whose law in death conjoin'd  
 Thee with thy slaughter'd foes, in number more

no answer till after a considerable pause, as he may be supposed to be struck dumb with the unexpected event.

JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 1664. ———— *self-kill'd,*

*Not willingly,*] “This suicide of Samson’s (says a learned author) “was of that nature, which respects not self immediately, or primarily seeks to compass its own death. Had Samson only sought his own death, he would probably have found means of destroying himself in prison, before he was brought forth to be made a show and a spectacle. But a renewal of the glory of God in the destruction of the Philistines was his principal object; which glory had been apparently violated by their general usage of his servant Samson, and the particular indignity they had made him suffer in the loss of his eyes. His own death was an accidental circumstance connected with his point in view, but not the first and direct aim of the action. It was necessary indeed for him to put his own life into the utmost hazard, with scarce a possibility of escape; but he cheerfully submitted to fall with his enemies, rather than not accomplish his great design.” Moore’s *Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide*, vol. i. p. 89. TODD.

Ver. 1666. *Of dire necessity,*] This shows, I think, that Milton approved of Horace’s expression “*dira necessitas*,” which Bentley proposed to alter to “*dura*.” But Rucellai, in his beautiful tragedy of *Rosmunda*, has that phrase, A. iv. “*Dura necessità &c.*” TODD.

Ver. 1667. ———— *in number more*

*Than all thy life hath slain before.*] “So the

Than all thy life hath slain before.

1. *Semichor*. While their hearts were jocund  
and sublime,  
Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine, 1670  
And fat regorg'd of bulls and goats,  
Chaunting their idol, and preferring  
Before our living Dread who dwells  
In Silo, his bright sanctuary :  
Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy sent, 1675  
Who hurt their minds,  
And urg'd them on with mad desire  
To call in haste for their destroyer ;  
They, only set on sport and play,  
Unweetingly impórtun'd 1680  
'Their own destruction to come speedy upon them.  
So fond are mortal men,

dead which he slew at his death, were more than they which he  
slew in his life," *Judges* xvi. 30. NEWTON.

Ver. 1670. *Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine,*] This  
distinction of drunkenness is scriptural. See *Isaiah* xxix. 9.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 1674. *In Silo,*] Where the tabernacle and ark were at  
that time. NEWTON.

Ver. 1675. *Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy sent,*] So,  
in his *Prose-IV.* vol. i. p. 273. "Can this be granted them,  
unless God have *smitten us with phrenzie* from above, and with a  
dazling giddiness at noon-day?" TODD.

Ver. 1682. *So fond are mortal men, &c.*] Agrecable to the  
common maxim, "Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat prius."

THYER.

This maxim has not, I believe, been traced to any authority.  
The unknown writer of it may possibly have been indebted to the

Fallen into wrath divine,  
 As their own ruin on themselves to invite,  
 Insensate left, or to sense reprobate, 1685  
 And with blindness internal struck.

2. *Semichor*. But he, though blind of sight,  
 Despis'd and thought extinguish'd quite,  
 With inward eyes illuminated,

Scholias on a passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. But there is in the Fragments of Euripides the following sentiment; which Milton doubtless here remembered, as the expression in v. 1676, *Who hurt their minds*, clearly, I think, evinces,

Ὅταν δὲ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ προσύνη κακὰ

Τὸν νῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον. *Incert. Trag.* v. 436. ed. Barnes.

And these lines are cited by the Scholias on the following lines in the *Antigone*:

Σοφία γὰρ ἐκ τῆ

Κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται,

“ Τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ’ ἐσθλὸν

“ Τῷδ’ ἔμμιν’ ὅτω φρένας

“ Θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἅπαν.”

Then on the last line follows the Scholias's remark, to which the Latin maxim, above mentioned, bears a great resemblance:—  
 Ἦγε, ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΟΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΥΣΤΥΧΕΙΝ, ΑΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ  
 ΒΛΑΒΗΝ. TODD.

Ver. 1686. *And with blindness internal struck.*] Here it is evident, I think, that the poet had a very fine passage of his beloved poetry in mind, in the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, A. v. S. vi.

“ O cecità de le terrene menti ;

“ In qual profonda notte,

“ In qual fosca caligine d'errore

“ Son le nostr' alme immerse,

“ Quando tu non le illustri, o sommo Sole.” TODD.

Ver. 1689. *With inward eyes illuminated,*] The *inward eye* is a phrase of which Milton's friend, Henry More, seems fond, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Thus, in c. iii. st. 9.

His fiery virtue rous'd 1690  
 From under ashes into sudden flame,  
 And as an evening dragon came,  
 Affailant on the perched roofs  
 And nests in order rang'd  
 Of tame villatick fowl; but as an eagle 1695

“ But corporall life doth so obnubilate

“ Our *inward eyes* that they be nothing bright.”

Again, ft. 11. “ With foul filth the *inward eye* yblent.” See also ft. 5, of the same canto: “ God doth *illuminate the mind.*” Compare note on *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 51. TODD.

Ver. 1692. *And as an evening dragon came, &c.*] Mr. Calton says that Milton certainly dictated

“ And *not* as an evening dragon came.”

Samson *did not* set upon them, like an evening dragon: *but* darted ruin on their heads, like the thunder-bearing eagle. Mr. Sympson, to the same purpose, proposes to read

“ And *not* as evening dragon came,

———“ *but* as an eagle &c.”

Mr. Thyer understands it otherwise, and explains it without any alteration of the text, to which rather I incline. One might produce (says he) authorities enow, from the naturalists, to show that serpents devour fowls. That of Aldrovandus is sufficient, and serves fully to justify this simile. Speaking of the food of serpents he says, “ Etenim aves, et potissimum avium pullos in nidis adhuc degentes libenter furantur.” *Aldrov. de Serp. & Drac.* Lib. 1. c. 3. It is common enough, among the ancient poets, to meet with several similes brought in to illustrate one action; when *one* cannot be found, that will hold in *every* circumstance. Milton does the same here, introducing the simile of the dragon merely in allusion to the order in which the Philistines were placed in the amphitheatre, and the subsequent one of the eagle to express the rapidity of that vengeance which Samson took of his enemies. NEWTON.

Ver. 1695. ——— villatick fowl;] “ *Villaticas alites,*” Plin. lib. xxiii. sect. 17. RICHARDSON.

His cloudless thunder bolted on their heads.  
 So Virtue, given for lost,  
 Depress'd, and overthrown, as seem'd,  
 Like that self-begotten bird  
 In the Arabian woods embost,

1700

Ver. 1695. ——— but as an eagle &c.] In the *Ajax* of Sophocles it is said that his enemies, if they saw him appear, would be terrified like birds at the appearance of the vulture or the eagle, v. 167. "Αλλ' ὅτε γὰρ δὴ κ. τ. λ. The Greek verses, I think, are faulty; and, as I remember, are corrected not amiss by Dawes in his *Miscell. Critic.* JORTIN.

Apuleius describes an eagle "in prædam *superne* sese ruere, *fulminis vice*." Florid. Lib. i. ad init. The ancients described heroes of great prowess and activity in war as *thunderbolts*. See Spanheim *De usu et præstantia Numismatum*, Dissert. v. where he treats of the epithets bestowed on the successors of Alexander, and among others that of *thunderer*. DUNSTER.

Milton, in his allegorical description of Samson's locks, which he terms the golden beams of Law and Right, in his *Reason of Church Government*, finely illustrates the passage before us: "They, sternly shook, THUNDER with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself." TODD.

Ver. 1699. *Like that self-begotten bird*] The introduction of the phoenix is particularly censured by Dr. Johnson. Tertullian, Ambrose, and others of the Fathers, have however cited the phoenix as a rational argument of a resurrection. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1700. ——— embost,] Probably from the Italian *emboscato*, to enclose in a thicket, as Dr. Johnson observes. I find that Milton uses *imbosc* in this sense, which is nearer to the original. "They seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forrest: they would *imbosc*." Prose-W. vol. i. 1698. p. 261. It appears to have been used by our old poets, as a term of hunting, applied more particularly to the hart: Thus in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 352.

That no second knows nor third,  
 And lay ere while a holocaust,  
 From out her ashy womb now teem'd,  
 Revives, reffourishes, then vigorous most  
 When most unactive deem'd ; 1705  
 And, though her body die, her fame survives  
 A secular bird ages of lives.

“ And how the harte had upon length  
 “ So moche *embosht*, I n’ot nowe what.”

And in Chapman’s *Iliad*, iv. p. 55. of hinds and harts,

“ Who, wearied with a long-run field, are instantly *embosht*.”

So P. Fletcher, in his *Poetic. Miscell.* p. 86.

“ Look as an hart, with sweat and bloud embrued,  
 “ Chas’d and *embosht*, thirsts in the soil to be.” TODD.

Ver. 1702. ————— a holocaust,] An entire burnt-offering. Else generally only part of the beast was burnt.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1706. ————— her fame survives

*A secular bird ages of lives.*] The construction and meaning of the whole period I conceive to be this, Virtue, given for lost, like the phœnix consumed and now teemed from out her ashy womb, revives, reffourishes, and though her body die, which was the case of Samson, yet her fame survives a phœnix many ages: for the comma after *survives* in all the editions should be omitted, as Mr. Calton has observed as well as myself. The phœnix, says he, lived *a thousand years* according to some. [See Bochart’s *Hieroicoicon*, Pars secunda, p. 817.] and hence it is called here *a secular bird*. “ Ergo quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per secula sex, id est annorum *sex millia*, manere hoc statu mundum necesse est.” Lactantius *Div. Inst.* Lib. 7. c. 14. The fame of virtue (the Semichorus faith) *survives*, outlives, this *secular bird* many ages. The comma, which is in all the editions, after *survives*, breaks the construction.

NEWTON.

*Man.* Come, come ; no time for lamentation  
 now,  
 Nor much more cause ; Samson hath quit himself  
 Like Samson, and heroickly hath finish'd 1710  
 A life heroick ; on his enemies  
 Fully reveng'd, hath left them years of mourning,  
 And lamentation to the sons of Caphtor  
 Through all Philistian bounds ; to Israel  
 Honour hath left, and freedom, let but them 1715  
 Find courage to lay hold on this occasion ;  
 To himself and father's house eternal fame ;  
 And, which is best and happiest yet, all this

Ver. 1708. ———— *no time for lamentation now, &c.*] In the *Hecuba* of Euripides, Hecuba, when she is informed of the heroical death of her daughter Polyxena, after expressing her grief, corrects it with similar reflections, ver. 591.

Το δ' αὖ λιβαν παρείλες, ἀγέλθειςσα μοι

Γενναίος. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1713. ———— *to the sons of Caphtor*] *Caphtor* it should be, and not *Chaptor* as in several editions : and *the sons of Caphtor* are Philistines, originally of the island Caphtor or Crete. The people were called Caphtorim, Cherethim, Ceretim, and afterwards Cretians. A colony of them settled in Palestine, and there went by the name of Philistim. MEADOWCOURT.

Ver. 1717. *To himself and father's house eternal fame ;*] Pindar, *Isthm. Od.* vii.

Ἰσω γὰρ σαφεῖς, ὅς τι εἶν

Ταῦτα νεφέλα χάλα-

ζαν αἵματος πρὸς φίλας

Πάτρας ἀμύνεται,

Λοιγὸν ἀμύνων ἐναντίῳ στρατῷ

Ἀγῶν, ΓΕΝΕΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΛΕΟΣ ΑΥΞΩΝ

Ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανόν. TODD.



With God not parted from him, as was fear'd,  
 But favouring and assisting to the end. 1720  
 Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail  
 Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,  
 Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair,  
 And what may quiet us in a death so noble.  
 Let us go find the body where it lies 1725  
 Soak'd in his enemies blood; and from the stream  
 With lavers pure, and cleansing herbs, wash off  
 The clotted gore. I, with what speed the while,  
 (Gaza is not in plight to say us nay,)  
 Will fend for all my kindred, all my friends, 1730

Ver. 1721. *Nothing is here for tears, &c.*] The whole of this speech of Manoah is in a high degree pleasing and interesting. From this place to the conclusion it gradually rises in beauty, so as to form one of the most captivating parts of this admirable tragedy. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1725. *Let us go find the body &c.*] When Sarpedon is slain in the Iliad, Jupiter gives Phœbus a commission to find the body and have all due obsequies and funeral rites paid it. See *Il.* xvi. 667, &c. Compare also the rites paid to the corpses of Patroclus and Hector, *Il.* xviii, xxiv. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1730. *Will fend for all my kindred, all my friends, &c.*] This is founded upon what the Scripture saith, *Judges* xvi. 31; which the poet has finely improved. "Then his brethren, and all the house of his father, came down and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol in the burying-place of Manoah his father." NEWTON.

The poet by *silent obsequy*, in this description of the last respect intended to be paid to Samson, alludes to the custom observed at the Jewish funerals; at which all the near relations of the deceased came to the house in their mourning dress, and sat down upon the ground *in silence*; whilst in another part of the house were heard the voices of mourners, and the sound of instruments,

To fetch him hence, and solemnly attend  
 With silent obsequy, and funeral train,  
 Home to his father's house: there will I build him  
 A monument, and plant it round with shade  
 Of laurel ever green, and branching palm, 1735  
 With all his trophies hung, and acts inroll'd  
 In copious legend, or sweet lyrick song.  
 Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,  
 And from his memory inflame their breasts

hired for the purpose: These exclamations continued till the rites were performed, when the nearest relations resumed their melancholy posture. TODD.

Ver. 1736. *With all his trophies hung,*] Chivalry was now again in Milton's mind. "Sancho descolgò las armas, que como trofeo de un arbol estavan pendientes, y requiriendo &c." *D. Quix.* P. ii. lib. iv. cap. xxix. He might also allude to the custom of hanging the sword, helmet, and armorial ensigns, over the tombs of eminent persons. TODD.

*Ibid.* ————— *acts inroll'd*

*In copious legend, or sweet lyrick song.*] Pindar. *Pyth.*  
*Od. i.*

——— Οπιθόρεστον αὔ-

χημα δόξας

Οἷον ἀποιοχομένων ἀν-

δρῶν δίαίταν μανύει,

Καὶ ΛΟΓΙΟΙΣ καὶ ἈΟΙΔΟΙΣ. TODD.

Ver. 1738. *Thither shall all the valiant youth &c.*] Mason, who was a great admirer of this tragedy, introduces Caraëacus thus consoling himself over the body of his son Arviragus:

"Here in high Mona shall thy noble limbs

"Rest in a noble grave; posterity

"Shall to thy tomb with annual reverence bring

"Sepulchral stones, and pile them to the clouds."

TODD.

To matchless valour, and adventures high : 1740  
 The virgins also shall, on feastful days,  
 Visit his tomb with flowers ; only bewailing  
 His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,  
 From whence captivity and loss of eyes.

*Chor.* All is best, though we oft doubt 1745  
 What the unfearchable dispose  
 Of highest Wisdom brings about,  
 And ever best found in the close.  
 Oft he seems to hide his face,  
 But unexpectedly returns, 1750  
 And to his faithful champion hath in place  
 Bore witness gloriously ; whence Gaza mourns,  
 And all that band them to resist  
 His uncontrollable intent :  
 His servants he, with new acquit 1755

Ver. 1740. ————— *adventures high :*] This is a term in chivalry and romance. “ *La alta aventura*,” D. Quix. And in Hawes’s *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1554, chap. xxxii.

“ Right *high adventures* unto you shall fall

“ In time of fyght.”

Quarles has also said of Samson, “ His youth was crown’d with *high and brave adventures*,” p. 291. Hist. of Samson, 1632.

TODD.

Ver. 1745. *All is best, though we oft doubt &c.*] There is a great resemblance betwixt this speech of Milton’s Chorus, and that of the Chorus in Æschylus’s *Supplices*, beginning at ver. 90, to ver. 109. THYER.

See also the concluding lines of the *Medea*, *Bacchæ*, and *Helena*, of Euripides ; and also the six last verses of Pindar’s twelfth *Pythian Ode*. TODD.

Ver. 1755. *His servants*] It is “ *his servants*” in most of the

ration; lastly, he had fallen from that height of unrivalled glory, and had experienced the most humiliating reverse of fortune. In delineating the greater part of Samson's sensations under calamity, he had only to describe his own. No dramatist can have ever conformed so literally as Milton to the Horatian precept; "*Si vis me flere, &c.*" And if, in reading the *Samson Agonistes* we observe how many passages, expressed with the most energetick sensibility, exhibit to our fancy the sufferings and real sentiments of the poet, as well as those of his hero, we may derive from this extraordinary composition a kind of pathetick delight, that no other drama can afford; we may applaud the felicity of genius, that contrived, in this manner, to relieve a heart overburthened with anguish and indignation, and to pay a half-concealed, yet hallowed, tribute to the memories of dear though dishonoured friends, whom the state of the times allowed not the afflicted poet more openly to deplore. HAYLEY.

Dr. Johnson thought differently about this tragedy, written evidently and happily in the style and manner of Æschylus; and said, "that it was deficient in both requisites of a true Aristotelick middle, Its intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe." To which opinion the judicious Mr. Twining accedes. What Dr. Warburton said of it is wonderfully ridiculous, that Milton "chose the subject for the sake of the satire on bad wives;" and that the subjects of *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Lost* were not very different, "the fall of two heroes by a woman." Milton, in this drama, has given an example of every species of measure which the English language is capable of exhibiting, not only in the choruses, but in the dialogue part. The chief parts of the dialogue, (though there is a great variety of measure in the choruses of the Greek tragedy,) are in iambick verse. I recollect but three places in which hexameter verses are introduced in the Greek tragedies; once in the *Trachinæ*, once in the *Philœtetes* of Sophocles, and once in the *Troades* of Euripides. Voltaire wrote an opera on this subject of *Samson*, 1732; which was set to musick by Rameau, but was never performed; he has inserted choruses to Venus and Adonis; and the piece finishes by introducing Samson actually pulling down the temple, on the stage, and crushing all the assembly, which Milton has sung into so fine a narration; and the opera is ended by Samson's

the choice of this particular subject, by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistines. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted at Westminster: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Handel's musick is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the god of Musick, and of Verse, was still one and the same. NEWTON.

*Samson Agonistes* is but a very indifferent subject for a dramatick fable. However Milton has made the best of it. He seems to have chosen it for the sake of the satire on bad wives.

WARBURTON.

It would be hardly less absurd to say, that he chose the subject of *Paradise Lost* for the sake of describing a connubial altercation. The nephew of Milton has told us, that he could not ascertain the time when this drama was written; but it probably flowed from the heart of the indignant poet soon after his spirit had been wounded by the calamitous destiny of his friends, to which he alludes with so much energy and pathos, in the Chorus, v. 652, &c. He did not design the drama for a theatre, nor has it the kind of action requisite for theatrical interest; but in one point of view the *Samson Agonistes* is the most singularly affecting composition, that was ever produced by sensibility of heart and vigour of imagination. To give it this particular effect, we must remember, that the lot of Milton had a marvellous coincidence with that of his hero, in three remarkable points: first (but we should regard this as the most inconsiderable article of resemblance) he had been tormented by a beautiful but disaffectionate and disobedient wife; condly, he had been the great champion of his country, and as such the idol of publick admi-

ration; lastly, he had fallen from that height of unrivalled glory, and had experienced the most humiliating reverse of fortune. In delineating the greater part of Samson's sensations under calamity, he had only to describe his own. No dramatist can have ever conformed so literally as Milton to the Horatian precept; "*Si vis me flere, &c.*" And if, in reading the *Samson Agonistes* we observe how many passages, expressed with the most energetick sensibility, exhibit to our fancy the sufferings and real sentiments of the poet, as well as those of his hero, we may derive from this extraordinary composition a kind of pathetick delight, that no other drama can afford; we may applaud the felicity of genius, that contrived, in this manner, to relieve a heart overburthened with anguish and indignation, and to pay a half-concealed, yet hallowed, tribute to the memories of dear though dishonoured friends, whom the state of the times allowed not the afflicted poet more openly to deplore. HAYLEY.

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saying, "J' ai réparé ma honte, & j'expire en vainqueur." And yet this was the man that dared to deride the irregularities of Shakspeare. JOS. WARTON.

Of the style of this poem, it is to be observed that it is often inexact and almost ungrammatical; and of the metre, that it is very licentious: BOTH with design and the most consummate judgement. An irregular construction carries with it an air of negligence, well suited to this drama; and yet prevents the expression from falling into vulgarity: and a looseness of measure gives grace and ease to the tragick dialogue. But this apology does not extend to such inaccuracies in the *Mask of Comus*; which, as a work of delight and ostentation, should have been every where laboured, as indeed for the most part it is, into the utmost polish of style and metre. Milton learnt the secret he has here so successfully practised from his strict attention to the Greek tragedians, especially Euripides. The modern critics of this poet are perpetually tampering with his careless expression, careless numbers, &c. unconscious that both were the effect of art. It is on these occasions we may apply the observation,

"It is not Homer nods, but we that dream."

The *Samson Agonistes* is, in every view, the most artificial, and highly finished, of all Milton's poetical works. HURD.

Dr. Warton, in a concluding note on *Lycidas*, assigns to *Samson Agonistes* the third place of rank among the poet's works. Lord Monboddo, still more enamoured of its excellencies, says, that it is "the last and the most faultless, in my judgment, of all Milton's poetical works, if not the finest." *Orig. and Prog. of Language*, 2d edit. vol. iii. p. 71. It is certainly, as Mr. Mason long since observed, an excellent piece, to which Posterity has not yet given its full measure of popular and universal fame. "Perhaps," says this judicious writer in a letter to a friend concerning his own impressive tragedy of *Elfrida*, "in your closet, and that of a few more, who unaffectedly admire genuine nature and ancient simplicity, the *Agonistes* may hold a distinguished rank. Yet, surely, we cannot say, in Hamlet's phrase, *that it pleases the million; it is still caviare to the general.*" *Elfrida*, edit. 1752. Lett. ii. p. vi, vii.

Mr. Penn has printed, in the second volume of his valuable "*Critical, Poetical, and Dramatick Works*, 1798," an abridge-

ment of Milton's *Samson*; in nearly which form he thinks it might be acted as an interlude, without danger of being ill received. The abridgement is formed with much ingenuity. Yet the classical reader will not perhaps accede to the absence of some splendid, and some affecting, passages. Mr. Penn also remarks, that Dr. Johnson's criticism on this tragedy is severe only in supposing, that it contained no more than the substance of one act; and that, though still one of Milton's valuable works, *Samson* is inferior both to *Lycidas*, and the *Allegro* and *Penferoso*. I agree in preferring the earlier poems of Milton to his tragedy: But I may be permitted not to subscribe to the assertion in Dr. Johnson's criticism that "nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson;" which, Mr. Cumberland observes, is not correct. See before, p. 336. On the contrary, I admire the art and judgement with which the poet has delineated the various circumstances that, from the first entrance of Manoah to the last appearance of Samson, progressively affect the mind of the hero, and finally produce the resolution which hastens the catastrophe. Samson, as an oratorio, is divided into three acts: Mr. Penn's abridgement exhibits the length of two.

It has been observed by Goldsmith, that *Samson* is a tragedy without a love-intrigue, as the *Athalie* of Racine also is, which appeared not many years after *Samson*; and that Maffei, instructed by these examples, has formed his *Merope* without any amorous plot.

The history of *Samson* has often employed the pen of poetry. Mr. Hayley thinks that Milton's *Samson* might perhaps be founded on a sacred drama of that country, to the poets of which Milton was confessedly partial; *La Rappresentazione di Sansone*, per Alessandro Roselli; of which there is an edition printed at Florence in 1554, another at the same place in 1588, and a third at Siena in 1616: but I have not been more fortunate than Mr. Hayley, in endeavouring to procure a copy of this Samson. The accomplished author of the *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 1799, has suggested to me that Milton might have met with more than one Italian drama on this subject; for, among the *Rappresentazioni* enumerated by Cionacci, he had observed a *Sansone*, from the prologue to which an extract is given:

"A gloria adunche dell' Altitonante,

"E di colui che più che 'l sol risplende; &c."



and this he conceives to be not the Sanfone of Roselli ; but a Rappresentazione of the fifteenth century. I am informed by the same gentleman, that, in or about the year 1622, appeared the following French drama, which might also have influenced the English poet in the choice of *Samson* : “ Tragedie nouvelle de Samson le fort ; contentant ses victoires, & sa prise par la trahison de son épouse Dalila, qui lui coupa ses cheveux, & le livra aux Philistins, desquels il occit trois mille à son trespas : En quatre actes. 8vo. sans date.” I must not omit to mention the *Sanfone* of Ferrante Pallavicino, in three books, published at Venice in 1655, into which Milton might perhaps have looked. Probably, among the *Autos Sacramentales* or religious tragedies of the Spanish, a *Samson* may exist. His history is particularly noticed, and part of it described in a Sonnet, in the celebrated Spanish pastoral, *La Constante Amarillis*, edit. Lyon. 1614, p. 166. “ Sanfon se mira y duda, &c.” Among a variety of sacred poems in different Latin metres, the acts of Samson are described in nearly four hundred elegant hexameters in the *Judices Populi Israelitici*, Autore Pantaleone Candido, Austriaco, printed at Basil in 1570, p. 301—315. Phillips, Milton’s nephew, calls Candidus “ the chief of those that are fam’d for an elegant style in Latin verse.” *Theat. Poet.* 145. Phillips also, in his list of modern Poets, notices “ Hieronymus Zieglerus, a writer of divers tragicomedies, and other dramatick pieces out of the Old and New Testament ; as his *Protoplastus*, *Immolation of Isaac*, *Nomotheta*, *SAMSON*, *Heli*, &c.” *Theat. Poet.* p. 73. The drama of Samson was published, as I have already noticed, Augusta, 1547, 8vo. But Milton is not to be traced in it. In our own language likewise, an elaborate *Historie of Samson* was published, in 1632, by Quarles ; in which, among several extravagances indeed of imagery and expression, are some spirited passages : I will cite the description of Samson enraged, when he found that his bride had discovered his riddle, edit. 1632, p. 327.

- “ When the next Day had heav’d his golden head
- “ From the soft pillow of his sea-greene bed ;
- “ And, with his rising glory, had possesst
- “ The spacious borders of the enlighten’d East ;
- “ Samson arose ; and, in a rage, went downe
- “ (By Heaven directed) to a neighbouring towne :

## APPENDIX TO SAMSON AGONISTES,

*containing plans of other subjects,*

*intended for TRAGEDIES by Milton :*

*From his own MS, in Trinity College, Cambridge.*

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SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS.\*

## OTHER TRAGEDIES†.

- i. *The Flood.* [See No. iii. below.]
- ii. *Abram in Ægypt.*
- iii. *The Deluge.*
- iv. *Sodom.*
- v. *Dinah.* Vide Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. ix. cap. xxii.

\* Many of these subjects in Milton's hands would have made glorious Tragedies. And one cannot enough lament that the prejudices of his age should have discouraged him from giving us more of these dramas ; for the execution of which he was, both by nature and art, supremely accomplished. There is, in the specimen he has given us, a simplicity and dignity united, of which we have no example in modern Tragedy. His Samson is at once the disgrace of his own age and of ours. HURD.

These numerous Scripture subjects justify a remark made by Mr. Warton, that Milton early leaned towards religious subjects for plays, and wished to turn the drama into the scriptural channel : He accordingly, in his *Reason of Ch. Gov. against Prelacy*, written in 1641, tempers his praise of Sophocles and Euripides with recommending *Solomon's Song* ; and adds, that " the *Apocalypse* of Saint John is the majestick image of a *high and stately tragedy*, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a seven-fold *chorus* of hal-lélujahs and harping symphonies," *Prose-Works*, edit. 1698, vol. i. 61.

TODD.

† So they are termed in Milton's MS. Those, which relate to *Paradise Lost*, have been given at the end of that poem. TODD.

## APPENDIX TO SAMSON AGONISTES,

containing plans of other subjects,

intended for TRAGEDIES by Milton :

From his own MS, in Trinity College, Cambridge.

## SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS.\*

## OTHER TRAGEDIES†.

- i. *The Flood*. [See No. iii. below.]
- ii. *Abram in Ægypt*.
- iii. *The Deluge*.
- iv. *Sodom*.
- v. *Dinah*. Vide Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. ix. cap. xxii.

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## The Persons.

Dine.	Hamor.
Debora, Rebecca's nurse.	Sichem.
Jacob.	Counſelors 2.
Simeon.	Nuncius.
Levi.	Chorus.

- vi. *Thamar Cuophorusu*. Where Juda is found to have been the author of that crime, which he condemned in Tamar: Tamar excus'd in what ſhe attempted.
- vii. *The Golden Calfe*, or *The Maſſacre in Horeb*.
- viii. *The Quails*. Num. xi.
- ix. *The Murmurers*. Num. xiv.
- x. *Corah, Dathan, &c.* Num. xvi, xvii.
- xi. *Moabitides*. Num. xxv. [See No. lv. below.]
- xii. *Achan*. Joſh. vii. and viii.
- xiii. *Joſuah in Gibeon*. Joſh. x.
- xiv. *Gideon Idoloclaſtes*. Judg. vi. vii.
- xv. *Gideon purſuing*. Judg. viii.
- xvi. *Abimelech the Uſurper*. Judg. ix.
- xvii. *SAMSON MARRIING, or in Ramach Lechi*. Judg. xv.
- xviii. *SAMSON PURSOPHORUS, or Hybriſtes, or Dagonalia*. Judg. xvi.
- xix. *Comazontes, or The Benjaminites, or The Rioters*. Judg. xix, xx, xxi.
- xx. *Therijſtria, a Paſtoral, out of Ruth*.
- xxi. *Eliada, Hophni and Phinehas*. I Sam. i, ii, iii, iv.<sup>a</sup> Beginning with the firſt overthrow of Iſrael by the Philiftines; interlac't wjth Samuel's viſion concerning Elie's family.
- xxii. *Jonathan reſcued*. I Sam. xiv.
- xxiii. *Doeg ſlandering*. I Sam. xxii.
- xxiv. *The ſheep-shearers in Carmel, a Paſtoral*. I Sam. xxv.
- xxv. *Saul in Gilboa*. I Sam. xxviii, xxxi.
- xxvi. *David revolted*. I Sam. from the xxvii. chap. to the xxxi.
- xxvii. *David adulterous*. II Sam. c. xi, xii.
- xxviii. *Tamar*. II Sam. xiii.
- xxix. *Achitophel*. II Sam. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii.
- xxx. *Adoniah*. I Reg. ii.
- xxxi. *Solomon Gynæocratumenus, or Idolomargus, aut Thyſiazuſe*. I Reg. xi.

- xxxii. *Rehoboam*. I Reg. xii. Wher is disputed of a politick religion.
- xxxiii. *Abias Thersicus*. I Reg. xiv. The queen, after much dispute, as the last refuge, sent to the profet Ahias of Shilo; receavs the message. The Epitafis, in that shee, hearing the child shall die, as she comes home, refuses to return, thinking thereby to elude the oracle. The former part is spent in bringing the sick prince forth as it were desirous to shift his chamber and couch, as dying men use; his father telling him what sacrifice he had sent for his health to Bethel and Dan; his fearlesnesse of death, and putting his father in mind to set [send] to Ahiah. The Chorus of the Elders of Israel bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at another time wondring why Jeroboam, being bad himself, should so grieve for his son that was good, &c.
- xxxiv. *Imbres, or The Showers*. I Reg. xviii, xix.
- xxxv. *Naboth συνοφαντέμενος*. I Reg. xxi.
- xxxvi. *Ahab*. I Reg. xxii. Beginning at the synod of fals profets: Ending with relation of Ahab's death: His bodie brought. Zedechiah slain by Ahab's friends for his seducing. (See Lavater, II Chron. xviii.)
- xxxvii. *Elias in the mount*. II Reg. i. Ὀρειβάτης. Or, better, *Elias Polemistes*.
- xxxviii. *Elifæus Hudrochóos*. II Reg. iii. *Hudrophantes. Aquator*.
- xxxix. *Elifæus Adorodocétas*.
- xl. *Elifæus Menutes*, five in Dothaimis. II Reg. vi.
- xli. *Samaria Liberata*. II Reg. vii.
- xl. *Ahabæi Cunoborameni*. II Reg. ix. The Scene, Jeſrael. Beginning, from the watchman's discovery of Jehu, till he go out. In the mean while, message of things passing brought to Jeſebel, &c. Lastly, the 70 heads of Ahab's sons brought in, and message brought of Ahaziah's brethren slain on the way. Chap. x.
- xl. *Jehu Belicola*. II Reg. x.
- xl. *Athaliah*. II Reg. xi.
- xl. *Amaziah Doryalotus*. II Reg. xiv. II Chron. xxv.
- xl. *Hezechias πολιορκούμενος*. II Reg. xviii. ix. Heſechia beſeiged. The wicked hypocrisy of Shebna, (spoken of in the xi. or thereabout of Iſaiah,) and the com-

Herod, by some counſeler perſuaded <sup>c</sup> on his birth-day to releaſe John Baptiſt, purpoſes it; cauſes him to be ſent for to Court from priſon. The queen hears of it; takes occaſion to paſſe wher he is, on purpoſe, that, under prætenſe of reconciling to him, or ſeeking to draw a kind retractation from him of the cenſure on the marriage; to which end ſhe ſends a courtier before, to ſound whether he might be perſuaded to mitigate his ſentence; which not finding, ſhe herſelf craftily aſſays; and, on his conſtancie, finds an accusation to Herod of a contumacious affront, on ſuch a day, before many peers; præpares the king to ſome paſſion, and at laſt, by her daughter's dancing, effects it. There may prologize the Spirit of Philip, Herod's brother. It may alſo be thought that Herod had well bedew'd himſelf with wine, which made him grant the eaſier to his wive's daughter.

<sup>c</sup> In the margin of the MS. Or els the queen may plot, under prætenſe of begging for his liberty, to ſeek to draw him into a ſnare by his freedom of ſpeech.

Some of his diſciples alſo, as to congratulate his liberty, may be brought in; with whom, after certain command of his death, many compaſſionating words of his diſciples, bewayling his youth cut off in his glorious cours; he telling them his work is don, and wiſhing them to follow Chriſt his maiſter.

- liv. *Sodom.* The title, *Cupid's funeral pile: Sodom burning.* The Scene before Lot's gate.

The Chorus, conſiſting of Lot's ſhepherds come to the citty about ſome affairs, await in the evening thire maiſter's return from his evening walk toward the citty gates. He brings with him two young men, or youths, of noble form. After likely diſcourſes, præpares for thire entertainment. By then ſupper is ended, the gallantry of the towne paſſe by in proceſſion, with muſick and ſong, to the temple of Venus Urania or Peor; and, underſtanding of tow noble ſtrangers arriv'd, they ſend 2 of thire choyeſt youth, with the prieſt, to invite them to thire citty ſolemnities; it beeing an honour that thire citty had decreed to all fair perſonages, as beeing ſacred to their goddeſs. The angels, being aſk't by the prieſt whence they are, ſay they are of Salem; the prieſt inveighs againſt the ſtriſt reign of Melchifelec.

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Lot, that knows thire drift, answers thwarty at laſt  
Of which notice given to the whole aſſembly, they haſten  
thither, taxe him of præſumption, ſingularity, breach of  
citty-cuſtoms; in fine, offer violence. The Chorus of  
ſhepheards præpare reſiſtance in thire maiſter's defence;  
calling the reſt of the ſerviture: but, being forc't to give  
back, the angels open the dore, reſcue Lot, diſcover them-  
ſelves, warne him to gether his friends and ſons in law out  
of the citty.

He goes, and returns; as having met with ſome incre-  
dulouſ. Some other freind or ſon in law (out of the way  
when Lot came to his houſe) overtakes him to know his  
buiſneſs. Heer is diſputed of incredulity of divine judge-  
ments, and ſuch like matters.

At laſt is deſcribed the parting from the citty. The  
Chorus depart with their maiſter. The angels doe the  
deed with all dreadfull execution. The king and nobles  
of the citty may come forth, and ſerve to ſet out the terror.  
A Chorus of angels concludiſg, and the angels relating the  
event of Lot's journey and of his wife.

The firſt Chorus, beginning, may relate the courſe of  
the citty; each evening every one, with miſtreſſe or  
Ganymed, <sup>d</sup> gitterning along the ſtreets, or ſolacing on the  
banks of Jordan, or down the ſtream.

gitterning along the ſtreets,] That is, *playing on the cittern* along the  
ſtreets. This muſical inſtrument, the *cittern*, was called *gittern* in Milton's  
time; and has been, in later days, termed by ſome the *guitar*. See Sylveſter's  
*Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, p. 468. "The divers ſtrings of a ſweet *gittern*." And  
Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 280.

————— "a *gitterne*,  
"As muſicall as any *bitterne*."

Milton uſes the word *gitterning*, becauſe the *cittern* was the ſymbol of women  
that lived by proſtitution. See Sir John Hawkins's *Hiſt. of Muſick*, vol. iii.  
408, where, among other proofs, Jonſon's *Volpone* is cited, A. ii. S. v.  
Corvino is there ironically exhortiſg his wife Celia not to dally with his  
jealouſy, but at once to prostitute herſelf to the ſuppoſed mountebank who  
had courted her at her window:—"Get you a *cittern*, Lady Vanity, and be  
a dealer with the virtuous man!" In noticing that theſe females, in the reign  
of Elizabeth, added to their other allurements that of muſick, Sir John further  
obſerves that the *cittern* was moſt in uſe with them, as being light and port-  
able like the lute, to which it bore a near reſemblance. The practice ſeems  
to have continued in Milton's time, and to have excited his juſt indignation.

TODD.



At the priests' inviting the angels to the solemnity, the angels, pitying their beauty, may dispute of love, and how it differs from lust ; seeking to win them.

In the last scene, to the king and nobles, when the fierce thunder begins aloft, the angel appears all girt with flames, which, he saith, are the flames of true love, and tells the king, who falls down with terror, his just suffering, as also Athane's, that is, Gener, Lot's son in law, for despising the continual admonitions of Lot. Then, calling to the thunders, lightning, and fires, he bids them heare the call and command of God to come and destroy a godlesse nation. He brings them down with some short warning to other nations to take heed.

- lv. *Moabitides, or Phineas.* The epitafis whereof may lie in the contention, first, between the father of Zimri and Eleazer, whether he [ought] to have slain his son without law ? Next, the ambassadors of the Moabites, expostulating about Cosbi, a stranger and a noble woman, slain by Phineas.

It may be argued about reformation and punishment illegal, and, as it were, by tumult. After all arguments driven home, then the word of the Lord may be brought, acquitting and approving Phineas.

- lvi. *Christus Patiens.* The Scene, in the garden. Beginning, from the coming thither, till Judas betraies, and the officers lead him away. The rest by Message and Chousr.

His agony may receav noble expressions.

- lvii. *Christ born.*

- lviii. *Herod massacring, or Rachel weeping.* Matt. ii.

- lix. *Christ bound.*

- lx. *Christ crucifi'd.*

- lxi. *Christ risen.*

- lxii. *Lazarus.* John, xi.

## BRITISH TRAGEDIES.

- lxiii. *The cloister-king Constans set up by Vortiger. Venutius, husband to Cartimandua.*
- lxiv. *Vortiger poison'd by Roena.*
- lxv. *Vortiger immur'd. Vortiger marrying Roena. See Speed. Reprov'd by Vodin, archbishop of London. Speed. The massacre of the Britains by Hengist in thire cups at Salisbury plaine. Malmesbury.*
- lxvi. *Sigher, of the East-Saxons, revolted from the faith, and reclaimed by Jarumang.*
- lxvii. *Ethelbert, of the East-Angles, slain by Offa the Mercian. See Holinsh. L. vi. C. 5. Speed, in the life of Offa, and Ethelbert.*
- lxviii. *Sebert slaine by Penda after he had left his kingdom. See Holinshed, p. 116.*
- lxix. *Wulfer slaying his tow sons for beeing Christians.*
- lxx. *Osbert, of Northumberland, slain for ravishing the wife of Bernbocard, and the Danes brought in. See Stow, Holinsh. L. vi. C. xii. And especially Speed, L. viii. C. ii.*
- lxxi. *Edmund, last king of the East-Angles, martyr'd by Hinguar the Dane. See Speed, L. viii. C. ii.*
- lxxii. *Sigbert, tyrant of the West-Saxons, slaine by a Swinheard.*
- lxxiii. *Edmund, brother of Athelstan, slaine by a theefe at his owne table. Malmesb.*
- lxxiv. *Edwin, son to Edward the younger, for lust depriv'd of his kingdom, or rather by faction of monks, whome he hated; together [with] the impostor Dunstan.*
- lxxv. *Edward, son of Edgar, murder'd by his step-mother. To which may be inserted the tragedies stirr'd up betwixt the monks and priests about marriage.*
- lxxvi. *Etheldred, son of Edgar, a slothful king; the ruin of his land by the Danes.*
- lxxvii. *Ceaulin, king of the West-Saxons, for tyrannie depos'd, and banish't; and dying.*
- lxxviii. *The slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride, stirr'd up. as is said, by Ethelbert, and he by Austine the monke; because the Britains would not receive the rites of the Roman*

church. See Bede, Geoffrey Monmouth, and Holinshed, p. 104. Which must begin with the convocation of British Clergie by Austin to determin superfluous points, which by them were refused.

lxxix. *Edwin, by vision, promised the kingdom of Northumberland on promise of his conversion; and therein establish't by Rodoad, king of [the] East-Angles.*

lxxx. *Oswin, king of Deira, slaine by Oswie his friend, king of Bernitia, through instigation of flatterers.* See Holinsh. p. 115.

lxxxi. *Sigibert, of the East-Angles, keeping companie with a person excommunicated, slaine by the same man in his house, according as the bishop Cedda had foretold.*

lxxxii. *Egfride, king of the Northumbers, slaine in battle against the Picts; having before wasted Ireland, and made warre for no reason on men that ever lov'd the English; forewarn'd also by Cuthbert not to fight with the Picts.*

lxxxiii. *Kimewulf, king of the West-Saxons, slaine by Kineard in the house of one of his concubins.*

lxxxiv. *Gunthildis, the Danish ladie, with her husband Palingus, and her son, slaine by the appointment of the traitor Edrick, in king Ethelred's days.* Holinsh. L. vii. C. 5. Together with the massacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed.

lxxxv. *Brightrick, [king] of [the] Wek-Saxons, poyson'd by his wife Ethelburge, Offa's daughter; who dyes miserably also, in beggery, after adultery, in a nunnery.* Speed in Bithrick.

lxxxvi. *Alfred, in disguise of a minstrel, discovers the Danes' negligence; sets on [them] with a mightie slaughter.* About the same tyme the Devonshire men rout Hubba, and slay him.

lxxxvii. *Athelstan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea, and repenting.*

lxxxviii. *Edgar, slaying Ethelwold for false play in wooing.* Wherein may be set out his pride, and lust, which he thought to clofe by favouring monks and building monasteries. Also the disposition of woman in Elfrida towards her husband. [Peck proposes, and justly, I think, to read *cloke* instead of *clofe*.]

lxxxix. *Swane besieging London, and Ethelred repuls't by the Londoners.*

- xc. *Harold slaine in battle, by William the Norman.* The first Scene may begin with the ghost of Alfred, the second son of Ethelred, slaine in cruel manner by Godwin, Harold's father; his mother and brother dissuading him.
- xc. *Edmund Ironside defeating the Danes at Brentford; with his combat with Canute.*
- xcii. *Edmund Ironside murder'd by Edrick the traitor, and reveng'd by Canute.*
- xciii. *Gunilda, daughter to king Canute and Emma, wife to Henry III. emperor, accus'd of incontinencie; defended by her English page in combat against a giant-like adversary; who by him at two blows is slaine, &c. Speed, in the life of Canute.*
- xciv. *Hardiknute dying in his cups: An example to riot.*
- xcv. *Edward the Confessor's divorcing and imprisoning his noble wife, Editha, Godwin's daughter.* Wherin he shewed his over-affection to strangers, the cause of Godwin's insurrection. Wherein Godwin's forbearance of battel prais'd; and the English moderation on both sides, magnifi'd. His [Edward's] slacknesse to redresse the corrupt clergie, and superstitious prætence of chastitie.

**SCOTCH STORIES, or rather BRITISH OF THE  
NORTH PARTS.**

- xcvi. *Athirco slain by Natholochus, whose daughters he had ravisht; and this Natholochus, usurping thereon the kingdom, seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco, who scape him and conspire against him.* He sends a witch to know the event. The witch tells the messenger, that he is the man, that shall slay Natholochus. He detests it; but, in his journie home, changes his mind, and performs it. Scotch Chron. English. p. 68, 69.
- xcvii. *Duffe and Donwald.* A strange story of witchcraft and murder discover'd and reveng'd. Scotch story, 149 &c.
- xcviii. *Haie, the plowman, who, with his two sons that were at plow, running to the battell that was between the Scots and Danes in the next field, staid the flight of his countrymen, renew'd the battell, and caus'd the victorie, &c.* Scotch story, p. 155, &c.
- xcix. *Kenneth, who, having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe that his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella.* Scotch Hist. p. 157, 158, &c.
- c. *Mackbeth.* Beginning at the arrivall of Malcolm at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be express't by the appearing of his ghost.

THE END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



